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United Railways Company's
Referendum Burglary

United railways company of St. Louis

By
JULIUS C. JACKSON

J. C. Jackson, Publisher
St. Louis, Mo.
1919

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W. H. Miner Co.
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Trans.

The exposure of the Referendum Burglary and some other secret operations of the United Railways Company of St. Louis, with an authentic account of personal experiences as Special Agent of the Company.

By

J. C. Jackson,

P. O. Box 1065 St. Louis, Mo.

INTRODUCTION

In making my debut to the readers of this book, I hope not to presume too much on their generosity, to expect to be considered non-partisan to the blame, if any, which attaches to the United Railways Company officials for policies I was called upon to execute. To the wisdom and justice of these policies I was to give a tacit consent, as an employee of Special Service. I have been faithful to this trust for the past twelve years. I trust the reader will not misjudge my motives since my duties with this Company, as their Special Agent, cover a wide scope, and am dealing in facts only. It shall be my endeavor to avoid using names if possible, and I do not want to involve any but those who are directly responsible for the acts herein related. My only desire is, in justice to myself and friends, to put the facts before the public while they are still fresh before their minds, though biased perhaps with more or less adverse criticism.

To carry out the orders of your superior officers successfully in this particular line of work, and to carry out the legitimate and sometimes unscrupulous policies that a company or corporation resorts to, you must have all classes of men at your disposal. I have been associated with many business concerns from the largest to the smallest, and find they all have the same opinion

of Union labor and have a chronic distrust of the integrity of their employees and are little concerned in their personal welfare. The labor people have their rights in their relation to capital; their work is an acquittal for the money received, and the balance is more often on their side of the balance sheet; but I do not subscribe to all the tenets of the labor party. Their leaning is mostly socialistic, which is based on the principle that all men are born equal. A platitude! A few years after birth it will develop that there is a wide divergence between men, physically, mentally, morally and politically. Their fortunes run into as many ways as the stellar bodies of the universe.

I carry out the work of my employers at their dictation, and if an assignment is given me, I put forth my best efforts to carry it out successfully. The last chapter of my experience with this Company, I wish to state, was carried out precisely as the United Railways Company of St. Louis ordered it. And after the burden was shifted to my shoulders the public was led to believe that I had been paid a liberal reward for securing the Referendum Petitions, but I want to say here positively this is a delusion and a snare. And furthermore, want to say, that this said Company is still indebted to me for the money that was paid out by me on negotiating this hazardous exploit, and that they still owe me back salary and expenses, which had not been paid when this deal was enacted, and am not paid to this date. The Company's rules in regard to payment of expenses of their employees is to reimburse them on the 1st and 15th of each month, or whenever their pay

falls due, for any amount that had been paid out in the Company's behalf.

I will also mention a few remarks that were made by my former employer, Bruce Cameron, after my indictment last June, 1918. The question was asked him, what was to be done with my mail during the time that I was out incognito for the Company. His answer was that he "did not give a damn what was done with it, or him either, as long as they don't get us."

The above remark coming from my former superior official, with whom I had been closely associated, and who was indebted to me for much of his successful enterprise, would seem to be quite undeserved and uncalled-for!

It will always be a question in my mind why the attention of the St. Louis police force was not directed towards the heads of the United Railways Company, when the statement had been made by them that they had found enough evidence in my safety deposit box and among my personal effects to convict everyone connected with this Company. Instead of harrassing my friends, both men and women, who were absolutely innocent of any connection with this affair whatsoever, it is my opinion that if the heads of justice at that time, instead of appealing to the Governor to offer a reward for my arrest, would have diverted their attention in the direction of 39th Street and Park Avenue where the burglary was schemed and concocted, there would have been a man, a Pharisee; slapping himself on the chest, repeating: "I must be kept clean, my name must be kept clean, as I have sons growing to

manhood and a good family connection, and a father-in-law whose interests must not be embarrassed!'' This man should have been in Jefferson City, where he tried to put me! This, my dear reader, to prove the unscrupulous acts of such a corporation, in order that their names be kept clean. They commit such acts and expect their standing and influence to overcome any accusations that may involve them.

April, 1919. J. C. J.

PRELUDE

The management of a public affair is a public trust, and the person or persons so intrusted incur great responsibility. Mismanagement of such trust might occasion great disaster, even national calamity. Dynasties have been overturned; empires and kingdoms have fallen; dire catastrophies in history: The French Revolution, entailing the slaughter of one million lives mostly innocent; our late universal war, now happily over, thanks to our wise statesmen, all are traceable directly to mismanagement of public affairs and greed.

Most men are influenced by a high-sounding title of a person or corporation more than by the truth or justice of their cause. It is accordingly a successful device in argument to belittle the name or reputation of an adversary so as to diminish his weight or authority. The writer of these pages has no such purpose. On the contrary, he has due respect for a corporation as such.

A corporation is a bulwark, a stronghold, built up of financial co-operation, supported by legal guarantees, signed up by state authority. The object for this grant is to enable the carrying on of industrial enterprise, private or public, as a single unit or individual.

In the case of the United Railways Company of St. Louis, it represents also, besides the grant of corporation, a franchise of public utilities, an institution in which everybody is concerned—the owners or governing body, the employees, and the people whom this institution is supposed to serve.

CAR MEN'S ORGANIZATION

The party that will be referred to as G5. was a detective, or inside man, for the East St. Louis & Suburban Railway Co. He was a road man. He went with the East Side Co. at the time the Eastern Agency was doing the work for the United Railways Company and also for the East St. Louis & Suburban Railway Co. This was in 1904. He came out of the same school as "C. C. 4." and the "referendum man." The three were well acquainted with one another, and you will find where G5. will be mentioned in a good many deals, as you read through the book. In 1909 we received word that Andy Morrison, living at that time at 1803 Locust St., St. Louis, Mo., was talking unionism to the car men. Morrison was working for the Wabash Railroad Co., in East St. Louis. Prior to this by several years Morrison had been a motorman and a strong Union man and an officer in the Local. In 1900 the car men had a strike. It was a long, bitter fight, and the Union lost. Morrison was very active during this trouble, and was one who did not go back.

At this time the car service was operated by the St. Louis Transit Company, after which it was taken over by the United Railways Company. The present company thought Morrison had lots of friends among the employees of the Company, and considered him a man they had to watch very closely in regard to Union matters. If it were reported that he spoke or even

looked at a car man whom he knew, that man would be watched closely. As we had received the "tip" that Morrison was getting restless, Mr. McCulloch and Mr. Cameron put a shadow on him. He would take the street car east to Third Street, from there he would walk to the river and take the ferry across to East St. Louis. He had company every morning and evening and this said company would be no more or less than one of the United Railways Company operatives. This was kept up for months. If he talked to one of the car crew, that employee was under suspicion. The East St. Louis man G5. visited Morrison from time to time and reported that he and Owen Miller were going to try and organize the men in the spring.

About this time a new operative came into service who was an Austrian Jew. Cameron said he was an expert from New York, whose specialty it was to get strong-armed men for the Company. He was put to work on the Morrison job and came very near disorganizing the service. He was then taken off of this and put at something else. The following spring Morrison and Miller got active and began sending out their literature and application cards. They had almost a complete list of all the employees' names. They were to mail all literature on a certain date. In the meantime G5. had visited Morrison and had gotten a copy of what they were going to send out. This was on Friday. On Monday this was to be mailed out. Morrison asked G5. if he would bring someone with him and carry the mail to the post office, Monday, as he was afraid to put it in the mail box for fear the United Railways

Company might get it and Morrison did not want to lose time from his office, as the United Railways Company might become suspicious. Of course G5. was only too glad to help him out. Morrison wanted the mail to be posted Monday so the letters would be received by the men Monday evening when they returned home from work. In that way they could fill out the application and mail it back to Miller before the Company knew anything about it. As soon as G5. left Morrison's house and office on Friday night with a copy of all literature he called Cameron up by telephone at his home and told him what he had. It was quite late but Cameron insisted that he come out at once and tell him all he knew and to leave the literature. The next morning Cameron called me early and I was at his office by six o'clock. He gave me an outline of what the Company intended doing. They were going to send out practically a duplicate of Morrison's literature and application cards. Morrison required a dollar to be sent in with each application, while our application membership was free, and also with this application we sent a self-addressed envelope stamped for the members to return the cards. The first thing we had to get was a post office box to have some place for our mail to come, so as to make it appear that we had an office. I went as quickly as I could to the post office to rent the box. As soon as this was done I telephoned the number to Mr. Cameron. Then all the machinery started at the United Railways Company office against time. Everybody worked all day Saturday and Sunday. Their scheme was to mail their literature out Sunday evening so it

would be delivered Monday morning, as the Company must get their mail to the men first. They thought the men that were inclined to join would mail their cards back to them before Morrison's were received. If the men hesitated about signing the application cards and received Morrison's letter by the next or second mail that would put them in a quandary and lead them to think that one or both applications were a fake. The Company's chief aim was to get the men confused, which it did. However the literature was mailed out by both parties—the United Railways' on Sunday and Morrison's on Monday, the latter not knowing anything about the Company's move. Morrison went to his office as usual. Our operative, G5., came to his home as was pre-arranged and started to the post office with their basket of mail, accompanied by one of Morrison's kin folks as body guard. He had the wrong conception of the United Railways Company, as they were only too glad for him to mail his literature. The only thing that worried the Company was, that he might defer mailing them for a few days. The Company had plenty of secret men to see when they were mailed. All operatives had received orders to report to the Company as soon as they were mailed. The operatives all waited until our East Side man, G5., could leave his friend for a few minutes, as they wanted him to make his report first. Having made his report, he and his friend went out to celebrate on putting something over on the United Railways Company.

It happened that the Company had made a mistake in not putting the Union stamp on their literature.

Some of the men noticed that, and knew that the Company's, or the first application blanks, were a fake, as all of Morrison's literature had the Union stamp on them. The Company had sent letters to every man who had been employed by them for years, and naturally we had letters returned to us in stacks from the dead letter office. As a result from this we received less than a hundred applications for membership. At that time the Company had the men so cowed that most of them were no more or less than slaves; if they were called to the office for some slight offense to the many stringent rules of the Company, they were either sure of a discharge or a ferocious "balling out" by the Superintendent of Transportation, as he was very proud of his reputation of being a hard taskmaster. Under these conditions the poor devils did not know what to do when they received the blanks. We will leave to your imagination what they would like to have done. A great number took one or both of these blanks and turned them in to their division Superintendent. Under the conditions it was a wise thing for them to do, as the ones that answered our cards favorably were found hunting a new job. Naturally our supposed effort to organize the men put a big "Jinks" in Morrison's work, "and he was up in the air," as his secret had been closely guarded. How did the United Railways Company find it out? And how did they know what day he, Morrison, was going to send out his mail! He thought possibly the Company might have an idea that he was thinking of starting an organization movement, but what puzzled him most was how did they find out the

day and almost the hour. In trying to overcome the handicap that we had on him he decided to come out in the open and fight. They had hand bills printed, stating the advantage of being a Union man. Our operative, G5., was one of Morrison's big men, and he was put in charge of distributing these hand bills. Their plan was to go to the end of the car line, and while the crew were taking their lay-over rest, to talk unionism to them and to give them the circulars or hand bills to read at their leisure. G5. brought several of his friends from East St. Louis to help him in the work. The men he brought were loyal Union men. G5. knew in advance what car lines were to be worked, and about what time, also could tell how many men would be there to talk to the car men and give them the circulars. The Company would always have more men than the Union men had. The Company's strong men would tell the Union men to get out, and if they did not comply with this command there would be something doing. As the odds were against the Union fellows they were usually wise enough to "beat it." Sometimes the Company's men did not give the Union men warning. They would proceed at once with their strong-arm exercise. During such times as this the Austrian Jew got in his work. The strong men had instructions about G5. so if it ended in a "rough house," he always came out without getting mussed up.

A number of the East St. Louis Union car men came to St. Louis to distribute cards among the car men. The cards explained to the men the advantage of being Union men. They divided up into groups; some would

be at 3rd and Washington; some at 4th and Olive, and others at 4th and Market St. Their object was to be at the end of the car line, give the crew the cards, and talk to them during their lay-over. One of the Union men from East St. Louis who was distributing these cards at 4th and Olive St., by the name of James Simms, was assaulted by unknown parties, without warning, the only provocation that Simms knew of being the distributing of these cards to the St. Louis car men. This man Simms received an awful beating. He was in the hospital for thirty days. Do you blame the Union men for wanting bodyguards when they came to St. Louis! If G5. had the opportunity he would throw his circulars down the sewer. On one occasion the route was changed after G5. had made the report to the Company. He did not have time to notify the Company before they started on the new route. Thereafter the Union men worked the entire line without being molested. This, however, was not successful. Morrison could not interest the men, as some of the applicants who had signed the Company's cards had lost their jobs, and the East St. Louis men were afraid to come on this side to do any work, as the Company's reception was not very cordial.

Morrison had a National Officer to come down, thinking his presence might revive things. He was here for some time and met with the same success that Morrison did. The movement was dead and past all reviving and Morrison was the "goat" for the whole affair. The next thing was to find out how many members Morrison had. It was reported to us that he had sev-

eral hundreds. Our operative, G5., was unable to find out. At this time Morrison kept roomers in his home and also used it as his office, so the Company decided that a representative should secure a room there. Morrison was very suspicious of all strangers. We sent persons there at different times to get a room and they were refused. At that time there was a medical college just across the street from his home. I had a friend attending the college; called on him and asked him if he knew of a student who was working his way through and needed a little assistance. My friend knew what business I was in, and said he knew of a fellow who would be glad to make a little extra money on the side, and that he would make arrangements for me to meet him in the morning. My friend was to vouch for me, so the student would not think I was a fake. Accordingly the next day I put my proposition up to him. He looked at me with a mixture of doubt and suspicion. I wanted him to go to this place and get a room. As he was a student just across the street, he would have no trouble in getting it. I told him I would pay all his bills, and would not ask him to do anything that would embarrass him in any way, and in return he was not to ask me any questions, or to tell anyone about our arrangements. I instructed him all that he needed to do was to be and act natural. This proposition seemed somewhat problematical. He decided to wait until the next morning to give his answer.

The following day we had lunch together and he told me that he would accept the proposition. In a roundabout way he asked a number of questions as though

he was rather suspicious of me, but as this friend of mine had vouched for me it helped me out. So soon as we came to an understanding I gave him money to pay for his room and he had no trouble in getting it and returning in a short time with a receipt for the first month's rent. I felt so good over this I bought him a new suit of clothes. Thus far I had not mentioned to the Company about trying to get someone to live in the house. The first they knew of it was when I showed them the receipt. We were in constant watch of the house to see who visited Morrison. Some of the neighbors began to notice us, so I went across the street and secured a room at the Marquette Hotel. The room was located on the corner facing Morrison's home and had an unobstructed view of anyone who might come and go. This room was occupied by us for weeks. Two months after the student had been living at Morrison's I noticed some roomer moving out of the place, and things were coming very easy for the student, and my time had come for action. I met the student that evening and told him that I had not asked him to do a thing so far, and would he be kind enough to introduce me to his landlord, as I wanted to get the room that was vacated that day. He demurred and was afraid. I don't know the number of excuses he offered, but I told him that I could not go into any details with him, but I promised him if he would do as I asked, I would do nothing to throw any suspicion on him; if he did not comply with my wishes my assistance to him would have to stop. He thought it over for a few minutes and finally decided to introduce me as a meat in-

spector and that he had known me for some time in one of his former college towns. He introduced me by my right name. I was given the room and they were glad to have me there and hoped I would like the place. My real home was in the west end of the city at that time. I moved a small trunk to this place and slept there.

During the day I spent my time at the Marquette Hotel with Bruce Cameron, G5. and other operatives. After I moved I told McCulloch and Cameron about my renting the room at Morrison's. They said that it was the best thing that I had ever done for the Company. Everything was lovely at the new place and no indications whatever pointed to its being a Union headquarters. All the months we were there I never saw but one car man enter the house. G5. had told us about the arrangement of Morrison's office and where everything was kept; said he had a gun and an axe and would kill the first man who entered the door.

Several weeks after I moved into this house there was delivered to me a book containing all of the conductors' and motormen's names and addresses. I was to look it over and return it to the party at once; and was also told that the members therein who had joined the Union were checked in red ink. With this book there was delivered some literature and correspondence from some of the car men, so there would be no question but that the names therein were bonafide. When I went over this list, I found only 44 members out of 3,000 names, at which the Company was very much surprised. Later, Morrison told G5. that he had only

45 members and half of them had been fired and the other half were Company men. The book of names was returned to the party as agreed and I enclosed a bill of large denomination.

I took my precious documents to the hotel, notified Bruce Cameron and G5. to come there at once, which they did. We all were quite amazed and surprised at finding so few applicants that the real organization had secured. One of the letters that was delivered to me by my inside party at Morrison's, was one that Bruce Cameron had mailed himself. He used another man's name, however. When you have evidence like that it is convincing, and there can be no mistake but what the right documents were delivered to you. The Company was so well pleased with this job that my salary was raised. In a few days I gave up the room at the hotel—had no more use for it, but still retained the one across the street. Morrison was buried so deep over this deal that he was done for all time to come. This was the operator's opinion, but the Company did not think so. They wanted me to continue living there, and the result was, I stayed with the Morrison's for a year and a half. McCulloch was always uneasy. He and Cameron both thought that Morrison should be made to lose his position. They claimed they had friends at the Wabash Railroad where he, Morrison, was employed, and all they had to do was to ask for his discharge. I did not doubt the assertion for one minute, as we all know how the big corporations stand with one another. Their intentions were to make him lose his position and run him out of town. It will be

mentioned in another chapter what their method was in running people out of town. My argument in the Morrison case was to let him hold his position; for while he was working he did not find much time to do Union work. If they persisted in having him lose his position, he would have all his time to devote to the Car Men's Union and cause us more trouble. Cameron had told me previous to this conversation that during the car strike in 1900, Morrison handled the financial end. Cameron said that he had been told, that after he had received one of the weekly allowances which was given to the striking car men, that he was seen going home with a wheat sack full of money, and the strikers did not get a cent that week and he had this money hid away. McCulloch and Cameron thought so for a long time, for later on Morrison opened up a picture show and Cameron exclaimed: "You remember what I said about the sack of money." A few years later Morrison bought a nice home and this same remark was repeated by Cameron. In my argument to save him his position I said if he had a sack of money he did not need a position, and would be a hard fellow to run out of town. My argument won and he is still with the same railroad.

During the rest of the time I was in the house it was very quiet. The Company decided I should move, so I told Morrison the packing plant that I was with as inspector was going to send me to Kansas City. I left, sent my trunk to the station and had it checked to Kansas City. I took this precaution in case Morrison might become suspicious. My orders were to leave in such a

manner that I could go back at any time it was necessary. I lived in St. Louis whilst I was supposed to be in Kansas City.

The Company again heard rumors that Morrison was getting restless, and they thought it best that I move back to his house, which was still located at the same address. I wrote to Morrison, telling him that I was to be transferred to St. Louis and wanted to know if I could get my old home back. I gave him the name of the hotel where I was supposed to be living in Kansas City so he could write me. I had a friend at this hotel who was the day clerk. I wrote a letter explaining to him what to do and sent him this letter I had written to Morrison to remail it to St. Louis. Morrison got my letter and answered it, saying I could have a room. My friend in Kansas City received this letter and mailed it back to me. I then proceeded to tell them when and what time I would arrive. During my stay this time, which was several years, they treated me royally. There being nothing to report on Union affairs I asked McCulloch and Cameron why they insisted upon keeping me there. They would give me some evasive answer, saying, "We feel better if you are living there, and while you are there you won't be on some other job;" "Why should you care, you are getting all of your expenses and then Morrison would miss all the good meat you get for him."

I had a room at another part of town all the time I lived at this place. As I was a meat inspector, they thought I should get a discount on all meats. Of course I did on all cured meats. Every time they wanted any-

thing in my line I would get it for them and at a good discount; they saved many a dollar on the choice cured meats that I bought for them at the expense of the United Railways Company. During all the years that I lived at this place, with the exception of the United Railways Company, only two of my friends knew that I lived there. I was supposed to get all of my orders and make all of my reports to the Chicago office. I would make trips there occasionally. As far as I know all of my movements were natural. When they bought their new home I was invited to move with them. I had a good excuse to leave them, as it was too far out and we parted on good terms.

THE COMPANY'S TACTICS

All we read about the nations having a "spy system" is not in the ratio with that of the United Railways Company. Both of the McCullochs claimed that one-half of the employees were loyal inside men. My own experience tells me this is not true; although I will admit they had a great many on the pay roll for giving information, or telling the Company everything they saw or heard. We would pay them from $10.00 up per month extra. These paid men had privileges that the ordinary car man did not have; with them it was not such an offense to enter a saloon or neglect the cash register when convenient. If they were off of their run on business, that time was added to their extra money. It was Cameron's policy to hold a road officer's job before their eyes as a future reward. The Company would hire anyone, in fact, who could show them they could be of service to them. In that way the United Railways Company knew most everything that was going on. Their boast was: "They knew everything and could do as they pleased." I will let the St. Louis reader be the judge of that remark.

The Company preferred country men for their conductors and motormen; said the city men would not stand the back talk of the passengers. As the country fellows were used to working for fifty cents a day from sunup to sundown, when one of them got a job on the cars it did not matter what the public said to

them, they would not say anything back for fear of losing their job. McCulloch said it was difficult for the Union to interest one of his "country car men." One year the company gave the car men two shirt waists each to wear during the summer months on my suggestion. When one of the prominent labor men heard that, he said, "Ye gods, how can we ever organize McCulloch's men when he conducts a Bible class among them, and gives them shirt waists!" "Union workers" is a ghost and nightmare to all corporations. They dream about it and will spend any amount of money and resort to any means to keep them out. When they can get one of the Union officers in their employ, he is worth his weight in gold to them, and they are always on the lookout for such fellows. Our expense was unlimited as long as the Union was kept out. We endeavored to know where all the car men organizers were, all the time. If an organizer was in some other city, and the management of that car company knew he was coming to our city, he would notify us, and we would be there to receive him.

One time, the International President, Mr. Mahon, was in Springfield, Mo. We were notified he would be in our city on Frisco train No. 40, 7:40 p. m. His ticket read direct to Detroit. Three of us met the train and were not disappointed, as the International President was one of the passengers. First thing on entering the station, he found out what time his Wabash train departed for Detroit; one of our men was right at his side when he made the inquiry. It so happened his train left at 11:40 p. m. As he had four hours to wait

he decided to have his hair cut. He went to a non-Union barber shop to have this done, was shaved, and also had a shine. He then went to a cigar stand and bought three non-Union cigars and went to the emigrant waiting room for a smoke, after which he went to a non-Union restaurant and had lunch.

After he got on the train I asked the conductor where he was going and he said, "Detroit." I made my report to Cameron by phone as soon as he departed and told him of his movements and asked him what he thought about wiring him in care of train. He said it was a capital idea. This official did not meet anyone or talk to anyone over the phone, during his stay in St. Louis. The following message was sent to International President Mahon in care of Wabash train No.——, and read as follows: "Your next visit to St. Louis, go to a Union barber shop, smoke Union made cigars and eat at a Union restaurant."

One day at noon Cameron called me over the phone very much excited and wanted to know if I did not know there was an organizer in town. I told him I did not. "Well," he says, "there is one and he is stopping at the LaSalle Hotel. His name is W. S. McClenathan," and for me to locate him and see what he was doing. Cameron said this man had written a letter to Geo. Cross, an officer in the East St. Louis Local, to come over to see him at the LaSalle Hotel. I went to the hotel and found out that a man by the name of W. S. McClenathan was registered there, but was out. We stayed until 10 p. m. and still he did not show up. As we had a representative in Detroit I wired him, asking

where McClenathan was. The answer was that he was a pallbearer that day in Detroit, and had been there for two days. The next morning the clerk at the hotel said that our man checked out late last night. Someone evidently was mistaken about McClenathan. Cross was home sick. I had one of our East St. Louis inside men to call on him. Cross told him about receiving a letter from someone in St. Louis; said it was signed McClenathan. Cross said it was a fake, as he had telegraphed Detroit and found out McClenathan was in Detroit attending the funeral of one of the International officers. He handed our man the letter to read. The postmark was "Bridge Station, St. Louis, Mo.," time was 11:30 a. m., sent special delivery. Cross received the letter at 2:30 p. m. Cross informed our man he was going to turn the letter over to the proper authorities to try and find out who the writer was; also told him he had shown the letter to several friends, and they had advised him to take that course. With this information I knew someone was trying to play "horse" with us. The day before I had noticed G5. around the La-Salle Hotel. I knew he had misled us before; but would always get out of it in some way. As Cross wanted the letter investigated, I supplied one of my men with proper credentials, and sent him to Cross's home. After convincing Cross that he was all right, Cross told him the same as he had our inside man earlier in the day. Our man told Cross that he would like to take the letter with him, as he wished to show it to his superiors: he would return it that night. Cross was only too glad to lend him the letter. Immediately

it was turned over to me. I made an engagement with Mr. Cameron, and went to his office. Before letting Mr. Cameron know I had this letter, I asked him who had told him about McClenathan. Said G5. had. This is what G5. told Cameron the day before when he reported McClenathan in town: Cross had met G5. on the street at 11 a. m. and showed him a letter he had received that morning from McClenathan, asking him to come to St. Louis to the LaSalle Hotel, as he would like to see him. After Mr. Cameron repeated the above to me, I handed him the letter that Cross had lent me. When Cameron saw the postmark of this letter was 11:30 a. m., that it was sent special delivery and received by Cross at 2:30 p. m. he said, "How in the ——— could G5. see this letter thirty minutes before it was mailed, and three and a half hours before Cross received it?" I told him because G5. was the writer. Cameron said it looked like G5. was trying to put something over on us; said for me to get on his extension phone and he would call G5. and see if he would repeat the same about the letter as he did the day before. G5. repeated the same story over the phone, and added that McClenathan left town last night, on receipt of a telegram. Cameron was very pleasant to him, told him he hoped McClenathan would never return to St. Louis. To my knowledge, G5. never knew we trapped him. That was the last organizer we ever looked for when G5. reported one in town.

I had never forgotten the time he had us standing out in zero weather, looking for some supposed organizer (mentioned in another chapter). I thought when

he wanted extra expense money he would have "some organizer" arrive in town.

The letter was returned to Mr. Cross as per agreement and he was an innocent party to the affair and a square man as far as I know and have reasons to believe.

This little incident was just one of the many erroneous reports we would get.

McCulloch called me in one day after the car men had organized and told me he believed one of his young lady stenographers was giving Company secrets to outsiders and wanted me to make an investigation to see if I could put her on my pay roll. So that evening when she left the office I shadowed her home from work. The next day I had one of the operatives to visit her home on some pretext. He called and found one of her parents an invalid. It looked then like she might need extra money. As she was home on Sunday I had one of the operatives and his wife to visit her. Our operative was a Union man and he passed to her as one. After the meeting he informed her of his mission; told her as the car men and all other lines of work connected with the United Railways Company were unionized they were going to organize the office force. The young lady replied that they were expecting that. Our operative told the lady the reason he brought his wife with him was so that she would have more confidence in him. With that the wife joined in and assured her that the Union was very anxious to get her on their side, and the husband remarked that they wanted her as their representative in the Company's office; her name should not be mentioned if

they were or were not successful in organizing them. She was to report if any of the office force were in favor of a union, and also report what McCulloch said about the car men's union and what he thought about the wage increase the union was asking for. As an inducement for her, they would pay her the same salary as she was getting from the Company for her information, and she could name the amount. She would be paid each month, and if they formed the Union she would be one of the officers. With that they pulled out a roll of bills and told her to take out what she wanted for her first month's salary. The girl was very much excited. The proposition had developed so rapidly it was hard for her to understand all of it. She finally told them she would like time to think it over and if they would phone her the following day she would give them her answer. That was reasonable enough, and the man and his wife left thinking she would accept the proposition. When she went to the office the next morning she reported what had occurred the day before and exaggerated it several times. Little did she know her boss knew the truth and was the instigator of the affair. She was advised by her boss to be polite to the Union man when he called that night and to try and find out his name, as they might want to use it some time. To make the job good, our man called that evening as per agreement. She declined his proposition and he declined to give her any information about himself. McCulloch said the reason I could not make the deal with her was because I made a mistake in offering her too much money. He said she should have

been offered forty or fifty dollars a month. He did not want to admit that possibly she was honest.

After this incident, Cameron thought he would try out one of his clerks. I knew this clerk personally so I could not do anything myself. Had a man to visit his home and pass for a Union man. The Union car men at that time were trying to make their first working agreement with the Company after their new organization had been perfected. As this clerk was more or less acquainted with Cameron's work, there was no reason but what he should know things that the Union would like to know and especially at that time. Our man told the clerk it was a business proposition he wanted to talk to him about; as he said he was one of the Union officials, they wanted him as one of their representatives in Cameron's office, as it was very important to the Union to know what was said during their absence, and he was in a position to give it to them. He told our man that he was not in a position to find out anything of interest. Our man asked him how much he was drawing from the Company; the clerk replied "not very much; not enough to keep myself and wife." He was told that he would be paid a hundred dollars a month if he would be a Union representative. He wanted until the next day to think it over. They made an engagement for the following day. I notified Cameron of the progress. He remarked to me that his clerk had not mentioned the meeting to him and for our man to keep after him. At the next meeting the clerk declined the offer; said he needed the money but could not accept the proposition; said he was going to

leave the Company soon, which he did. Cameron said the clerk never mentioned the incident to him, and said he was satisfied if the fellow had remained in his employ he would have given the information to the Union man.

Our East side man, G5., made a specialty of writing anonymous letters. As this was one of Cameron's strong cards, he played it strong; G5. purchased a Corona typewriter, and would do most of his letter writing on toilet paper. If he thought the Company had hired a certain fellow for inside work, he would immediately begin to bombard him with anonymous letters, call him all kinds of names, accuse him of being an inside man, and say that most of the members of the Local thought him a traitor. G5. would pick the wrong man nine times out of ten. Like most of us would do, if we received a letter of that kind and we were innocent of the charges, we would show it to some of our friends. In that way our real inside men, unknown to G5., would see and possibly get some of the letters and give them to us. As soon as we would receive them we would know who wrote them. He would lead his fellow-workers to meetings that had been prearranged to trap some men whom the United Railways Company suspected of being interested in the Union movement. Usually the meeting place would be in some out of the way place. In a short time the Austrian Jew, the New York expert, would show up on the scene with a bunch of his strong-arm fellows, all cleared and ready for action. G5. would be the only one who was not mussed up, when the excitement was

over and the ones who were able to go were gone. As soon as the others felt they could go home, they went; and the Company would say they were not as good "Union men" on their return as they were when they started to the Union meeting. This had a very depressing effect on the Union movement. McCulloch and Cameron called this "moral" effect. To show how this "moral" effect worked, a short time after the St. Louis car men formed their Union, Edward McMorrow, member of the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railways Employees of America, gave an interview to the reporters of the St. Louis papers, in which he gave an account of the part he took in organizing the St. Louis car men in 1918.

When he was asked to come the first night, he thought it was some trick of the United Railways Company; therefore, when he finally consented to come, he picked some of his faithful "buddies" to come with him, so if there was anything started they would have some show, as they knew from experience it was the Company's object to throw terror into the Union ranks.

This Austrian Jew claimed he got his men from Terre Haute. One time we had a good deal of trouble with an ex-conductor. He made keys and sold them to other conductors. These keys would open the money box which the Company had installed on the cars at that time to take the place of the cash registers. The boxes carried the receipts for the day. This fellow would demonstrate the working of the key, and sell it

from five to twenty-five dollars. The conductors would open the box and take what they wanted, and relock it. The first order that came out was to get the Terre Haute men, and not to bother about having the key man arrested. The Jew was all ready with his men; for some reason his orders were countermanded. Later the key man was arrested. This incident occurred in June, 1912. The arrest was made by Barney Verheyen.

At one time G5. checked cars in St. Louis, and then later went to East St. Louis. He was a good mixer, made lots of friends, and spent lots of money. He drew a good salary from the United Railways Company in addition to his regular salary as a car man in East St. Louis; also claimed he had an income from the East. He was considered a valuable man. If there was going to be a Union movement on this side, he always knew of it. If an organizer was coming to the city, he knew it, as he was an officer in the East side Local for a number of terms and would be sent as a delegate to different conventions. At times he would be under suspicion, but he would pull himself out and throw suspicion on some innocent member and get away with it.

This man is mentioned in a great many of my episodes, as he was well connected with the headquarters of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railways Employees of America, and knew all of the officers. Whenever they would visit the city he would look them up, or vice versa. He pulled some great stunts and was caught red-handed at some of them and others showed up later. For instance, one time he had

some relative visiting him from the East. He passed it down to the United Railways that it was an organizer who had been sent to live at his home by the International President, thinking that he would not be detected in that way. We believed him for a good while It was in the dead of winter, and a number of days it was below zero. We stood out in the cold waiting for this relative and supposed organizer. G5. lived in a sparsely settled neighborhood, and we had to stand a good distance from his residence to shadow it. We had no protection from the elements and we attracted attention from the neighbors. They thought we were shadowing someone, but never thought they lived blocks away. After we had spent several weeks in the neighborhood, it was announced to us one morning by some school children that the man we were after had committed suicide. It seems a man living near where we stood had absconded with some money, and evidently thought we were watching him and killed himself.

This was all news to us. However, after this incident we moved down town where this relative would have to transfer to come to St. Louis. When he came to St. Louis he would make a few rounds of the saloons, jump in a taxi and leave us on the corner. Our instructions were, if he took a taxi to let him go, as G5. would report what he had done that day. G5. had a good expense account, and had to make some good reports to keep the job going as long as he did. He reported to the Company that he was not charging the relative and supposed organizer any board, as he thought by do-

ing this he could get more information out of him. He claimed this organizer was very "close-mouthed" and it was difficult for him to get very much information. G5. had told his relative his scheme to pass him off as an organizer, and of course he was "right in" for anything, out of which G5. could make some money. He would pay for taxicabs and other pleasures. This mystery would get the United Railways Company excited and would add to G5.'s usefulness.

One night this relative disappeared. G5. said he had been called away unexpectedly. Every time G5. needed a little extra money he would have some supposed organizer here, as he was in a good position to do those things. All you had to do was to announce to the United Railways Company that an organizer was on his way here, and every entrance to the city would be watched. If they were to pass through the city and did not leave the Union Station we were right there and stayed with them until they left. G5. took advantage of the United Railways Company's uneasiness a great many times.

A few years ago the jitney craze came to St. Louis. It seemed that everyone who owned a gallon of gas and had four tires was running a jitney. The United Railways Company became uneasy and said it was hurting their business. They had me visit a man who they thought had some influence, in regard to regulating the jitneys. Their idea was to have the jitneys under bond, and to run on certain streets; to have a card on the front of their car announcing their route and to require the

driver to go on that route only. The driver would be compelled to go to the end of his scheduled route regardless of his being with or without passengers. In that way he would be unable to turn around at any corner where he might pick up the waiting passengers going the opposite direction. Their intention was to make it as hard on the jitneys as they possibly could. They had men at different corners down town checking these jitneys and the number of passengers they carried.

The company previous to this time had put big glass notices in the east- and west-bound cars announcing, "No smoking allowed on this car at any time." After the jitneys became popular, the Company pasted paper over the smoking notice. They would allow passengers to smoke any place in the car.

We made arrangements with four big negroes to get in one of the jitneys down town one morning. We told them no doubt they would be arrested; but with the proposition we made to them it did not make any difference to them if they were arrested. At that time the jitneys were not carrying negroes, so the Company decided to get the negroes and have them get in one of the jitneys without asking the driver and offer their fare, and demand that they be driven west. They expected the driver to refuse and order them out of his car. This the driver did, so when they refused to get out he had them arrested. They were released on bond. When they were called for trial the jitney man's lawyer could not show any reason for his refusing to drive the negroes, except that they were negroes. They had offered him their fare, and caused no disturb-

ance except that they refused to get out. The judge asked the driver if the passengers had some contagious disease, if they were poison, or if there was anything the matter with them except that they were negroes. All the driver could say was, they were undesirable. The judge said, "As long as you are running a public conveyance you are compelled to carry all passengers." With that he discharged the negroes. This is just what the company wanted. They knew if the negroes rode in the jitneys it would make them unpopular. Therefore the jitneys died a natural death in a short time.

For years the United Railways Company had a man in the National Guards of Missouri. The Company paid all of his expenses connected with the Guards—his uniforms and other military paraphernalia; trips out of the city on military business; bills at the Army and Navy Club, the Governor's ball at Jefferson City and all social functions pertaining to the Guards. The Company said if the Guards were ever called out for strike duty for the Company he would be in a position to be of value to them.

When the Guards were called to Mexico, this man asked for his release. His usefulness in his military capacity was thus temporarily suspended. The Sunday morning's "Republic," February 3, 1918, the morning after the strike was called, had an item stating the following: "An appeal was telephoned to Governor Gardner shortly before midnight by Bruce Cameron, superintendent of transportation, for the local Home Guards to be called out for strike duty."

The strike was called at 10 p. m., and the Company was asking for troops two hours later. Cameron had dined a former governor at "One hundred dollar" luncheons on his visits to St. Louis during his administration. As the Company had no occasion to use the Guards during this governor's term, I suppose the United Railways Company decided to get some returns for the lunch money. They asked for the Guards on the occasion of this strike. The Company ascertained the present governor was of a different caliber.

After the strike was settled in 1918, Cameron could not get away from his old habits. McMorrow, one of the International organizers, was stopping at the Majestic Hotel. This angered Cameron. It was thought improper for the car organizers to stop over night in St. Louis. Now, to have one come and live at one of the down town hotels was too much for the superintendent of transportation. He had me to place a representative at the hotel, which I did, and kept him there during McMorrow's stay. One day Cameron sent for me to come to the office—said he had a package that he wanted to send to McMorrow at the hotel. This package contained a brick, gauze bandage, medicated cotton, and adhesive plaster. He told me to take it down town and have one of our men send it to McMorrow. The man sent the package by Postal messenger from the Century Building to the Majestic Hotel. McMorrow was in his room with some friends when the package was delivered. They were all afraid of it—thought it was an infernal machine. After several suggestions were made it was decided to put it in the

wash basin and turn the water on it, which they did. After the water ran a little while, they discovered what this infernal machine was. At other times we would have McMorrow's phone rung at all hours of the night. When he would go into the dining room we would have him called to the phone, inviting him to come across the street, or say anything else that might come to our minds. At last the report was made McMorrow had asked the home office to send someone to St. Louis to take his place, said he had a nervous breakdown. In a short time he was released.

C. L. Delbridge was forever bothering the Company. He had a printing shop at 113 Market St. He always had something new to give the public in regard to the car situation in St. Louis. At one time he published a pamphlet called "Saddle Car System." As soon as the Company heard of it they sent a man to buy up the whole publication. He was an advocate of free street car systems. He claimed passengers could be carried for seven-eighths of a cent. The Company would think he had forgotten them, all at once he would bob up again, with some of his many new theories of street car management. The United Railways officials knew him to be an acknowledged authority on strictly mathematical data, but when he presumed to advocate impractical street car methods, he was altogether out of his element.

THE BRUTUS OF THE SERVICE

During the World's Fair time the conductors were put under bond, which was furnished by a local representative for an Eastern bonding company. The inspectors and spotters were also furnished by an Eastern Agency. In 1905 this Agency contract expired, and Capt. McCulloch took charge of the work. He put Bruce Cameron at the head of the department. They organized their own Secret Service force. They kept a few men from the old Agency. During the Eastern Agency's time the Company would ask for a man to do special work for them. This man would then be under direct orders from the Company. He would make his reports to the one to whom he had been consigned.

The Company was very much opposed to the car men entering saloons. The penalty was next to that of talking unionism. If there were many reports of a man's going to a saloon, he would soon be hunting a new job. The employees would resort to as many ways to get a drink as the Company would to try to prevent it. They would get a drink in a grocery store, back yard or any private place that they could. As their numbers were on their caps, some would leave the caps in a side room and come to the bar bareheaded. Most of them looked alike with their caps off, so the inspector would have a hard time identifying them. The Company would dress a man up in a uniform and give him a badge from some other division and send him to

the saloon which had a report of being frequented by employees. It worked very well, as the Company had so many inside conductors and motormen, an employee took chances every time he went into a saloon. To protect the inside man, this supposed employee would show up on the scene. Then they were called to the office for being in a saloon, the inside man would remember that a stranger in uniform had been in the saloon at the time, and he would convince his friends that this was the man who turned them up. This would save the inside man, and he would be laying for the next victim. The Company had one inspector who could go into a saloon and if there were twenty men lined up at the bar and they had their caps on, he could remember their numbers correctly.

While the Agency was doing the work, the Company decided to go after the ones who drank to excess. They asked for a man from the Agency. They were given a man, and from his appearance he was a typical saloon man; a good mixer, had a horse and buggy; would drive up to a saloon, and go in and be a good fellow, and he proved to be very efficient. After the Company took charge of all the work, they took this fellow with them. In reading of his activities from now on his title will be C.C.4. After he had checked cars and done a number of other things, he got into a street fight with another one-armed inspector who formerly worked for the Agency, resulting in his being fired. He then went with a money loaning company, which made short time loans to the car men. He practically spent all of his time at one of the car barns. The men are paid twice a month. This placed

him in a position to be a very valuable man to the Company. In due course of time he was reinstated by the Company. He also continued with the loan company, which knew nothing about the agreement with the United Railways Company. He was drawing two salaries and two expense accounts. He got acquainted with a number of the head Union men of St. Louis. He visited with them, drank and ate with them, and loaned them money. They thought they were getting money from the loan company, when instead it was the money of the United Railways Company.

As far as I know, the Union men that he was palling with at that time, were on the square, and I believe they thought he was. They revealed to him what they were going to do. We kept their place at 810 Olive under cover all the time. We knew some of the Union fellows' habits better than they knew them themselves. If he was up in their office, he would give us signals to do so and so. At other times he would bring some of the Union men down stairs, unbeknown to us, and point us out as United Railways detectives. At that time we were unaware that he was getting ready to try and disrupt the service. On the surface everything was running smooth. We had no reason to suspect anything, and to the present time I don't know why he turned against the Company and against some of the detectives. Some of the men were considered his personal friends. He had worked with them for years. One man was his former boss.

During the time the Agency had the Company's work the operatives were known to the Company by

numbers, such as C.C.4., B.7., G5. They signed their reports with the letter and number that the Agency gave them. So all the Company knew was C.C.4. If the Company did not like the work of C.C.4., they would notify the Agency to discontinue C.C.4. This Agency was doing the work of the East St. Louis and Suburban Railway, and St. Louis and Suburban Railways Company. If the company did not like C.C.4.'s work the Agency would put him to work with one of the other companies. The time the Agency had the work the United Railways Company would tell them to put the men on such and such a line today or tomorrow. They had to ride the cars from one end of the line to the other. It made no difference if the line was twenty blocks long or fourteen and a half miles. They had to make the entire distance. The inspectors were compelled to make thirteen trips a day. If they made twelve trips they were paid for one-half a day. If the inspector was on one of the short lines, after making the thirteen trips the agent would let him work for one of the other companies, to whom was accredited a day's pay extra. In that way he would get two days' pay in one. To show how his former boss favored C.C.4., his friend and the Union men's friend, and the Company's trusted man at this time, Cameron notified the Agent to get rid of him! Did not like his work. The Agent objected, of course. Cameron won out. This was years before C.C.4. turned traitor. So the Agent told Cameron they would fire him. The operative was called in and told what Cameron said. The Agent wanted to keep the operative, but decided they must do as Cam-

eron commanded. His reports stopped that day. Next day a new number and letter appeared on C.C.4.'s reports, but the old operative (C.C.4.) continued working, and his father wrote his reports! As far as I know to the present day the United Railways Company thought the man was discharged. It was the least of their knowledge that this was the man they called for to do their special saloon work. It was passed around among the operatives as a joke, how they put it over on Bruce Cameron.

During this period the Company had a good deal of trouble with the cash registers. The inspector's report on the cash fares, on some of the cars he checked, would not correspond with the conductor's trip sheet. For a while it looked like some of the inspectors and conductors had an agreement or conductors and the receivers at the car shed had an agreement. As soon as the car is turned in, from making the day's run, the total reading of the register is taken. This reading and the conductor's report must correspond. The Company supplied this particular C.C.4. with a camera, and had him sit on the front seat of the car, as the registers were in the front end of the car at that time, and take a picture of the register when the car was nearing the end of the run, unknown to the car crew. With all this precaution some of the conductors would manipulate their trip sheets and the total of the register, so the inspector's report would be wrong. This was during the World's Fair time, when the Company had men from all over the United States as car men. Thus they were bound to get all kinds of workmen, but dispensed with this class

of men as soon as the Fair closed. After his former boss had done all this for C.C.4., he (C.C.4.) named him in an affidavit, uncomplimentary to his former boss. C.C.4. spent a great deal of his time at 810 Olive Street.

One time Geo. Keenan, Fourth Vice President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railways Employees of America, arrived in St. Louis stopping at the American Hotel. He made his headquarters at 810 Olive Street. Our man was right there; in fact, took charge of him during his stay in the city. He was what we called the "Official Entertainer," with the Company's money of course. He took Mr. Keenan around to the different car barns, showing him how the ground lay, and pointing out different men on the street as Company's detectives. Mr. Keenan would come out of the Union quarters on Olive Street alone, and take a walk on some quiet street possibly, and would try and pick out some of the fellows who were shadowing him. The old man could have rested very easy as far as the shadowing was concerned. Through our man we knew every move Mr. Keenan made while in our city; or even if he were with the East St. Louis Union car men we would know exactly what his conversation was about, as our East St. Louis representative, G5., was always on the job.

Keenan decided conditions looked favorable. Our man, C.C.4., knew so many car men—his business as a money lender and collector threw him constantly in contact with them. He had many confidential talks with his customers. There was no reason why he could not talk Unionism to them, as the Company would never suspect

him. He was an ideal man for the place. Keenan appointed him the official representative of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railways Employees of America, and placed him on a salary. This made three salaries which this man was drawing, the Loan Company's, the United Railways Company's, and the Union's. Keenan gave him an organizer's book, the necessary literature, and power as an organizer. Every one was happy. Our side took a day off and celebrated. Keenan left the city a contented man, thinking at last they had a man in a town which the International President, Mahon, considered impregnable. At the United Railways Company's office at 39th and Park Avenue it was treated as a mere incident, as they were so accustomed to getting and doing as they pleased. They had done so many times before. We thought the new organizer and much salaried man was ready to go out and lead his victims to certain discharge.

In a short time he was called for consultation to Detroit, which was the headquarters of the car men's Union. McCulloch and Cameron both thought they had a baby wonder on their hands. This new organizer started east, accompanied by one of the leading local Union men, at the expense of the Company and the street car men's Union. In some way they missed the International President and returned to St. Louis. Later he was notified to come to Detroit again, as the International President was ready to see him.

Upon meeting the International President, this C.C.4. made certain statements in regard to the St. Louis situation. They were made voluntarily and of such a sen-

sational character that the International President asked him to make an affidavit to the above statements. C.C.4. consented.

I was unable to get a copy of this affidavit. As near as I can remember he named four of the United Railways Company's operatives in it. I myself was one of them. C.C.4. said Mr. Cameron engaged him as an inside man to give information on the Union movement. He said the only reason he went with the Company was to be in a position to give the organization better results; that he had no intention of giving the Company the truth in his progress; he was a Union man at heart. In this affidavit he named one of our East Side operatives, G5. He was the only man whom he knew to be a Union man and working for the Company at the same time. This affidavit was quite lengthy, three or four typewritten pages. If the car men's organization had believed all he said and intended doing to the United Railways Company it would have bothered us a great deal. This C.C.4. told us after his defection was discovered that the Detroit parties got him intoxicated, and had him sign it; that the contents were divulged by some one else.

The second trip was made without the knowledge of the United Railways Company. I knew nothing about his making this second trip until his return, and that by mere accident. I met him on the street a few minutes after his return and he was carrying a hand-grip. I bid him the time of day and casually remarked, "How is everything at this time?" He appeared confused, and said, "What do you mean?" I asked. "How is every-

thing at headquarters in Detroit?" He said, "Let's go to the Moser Hotel and talk it over," so I met him there. At that time I thought Cameron and McCulloch knew he was away. The first thing he said after meeting me at the hotel was, "I wonder if that ———— Bruce Cameron had someone shadowing me." I said, " I don't know that he did, but your old boss was in Detroit, just scouting around, and saw you accidentally. This was all a bluff on my part, as his old boss was not in Detroit at that time. I just had an intuition that something was wrong. However, I got nothing of interest out of him.

Some time later, after his return from Detroit, Edward McMorrow, of Chicago, one of the members of the General Executive Board of the A. A. of S. & E. R. E. of A. and a friend of our East St. Louis operative, G5., notified G5. that he had an affidavit pertaining to his welfare, and he would like to see him. Accordingly G5. met McMorrow, and was shown this affidavit. G5. was one of the principals named. You can appreciate this operative's position. But in some way or other he got by with it. He procured a copy of the affidavit, then immediately came to St. Louis and got in communication with Bruce Cameron. They met in a room at the Planter's Hotel. He handed Cameron the affidavit. Cameron read and re-read it, without saying a word. At last he broke the silence, and when he was through there were enough "blue flames" shooting around that room, if they could have been condensed in a storage battery, to have supplied the hotel with light for the next twenty-four hours. The conference terminated by Cameron's promise to stay by the East St.

Louis man and get rid of the much-salaried organizer the easiest way they could.

Of course, in time the labor men of St. Louis heard about this affidavit, and the parties who were implicated. The St. Louis organizer, C.C.4., knew nothing about this affidavit being public, and he did not know it for some time to come. The St. Louis labor men called our East side man, G5., to task, but he put up a good front and denied the whole thing. He was willing to meet operative C.C.4. at any time and place, the sooner the better. He tried some of Cameron's blue smoke stuff, and won. Evidently he convinced the investigators that this man C.C.4. was trying to "frame up" on him. They all worked together to get this man C.C.4. G5. had convinced the Chicago party that this fellow and the United Railways Company had resorted to this method to get him "in bad." The Chicago party and the St. Louis labor men knew that G5. had been very active at different times trying to organize the St. Louis men. His story was plausible. They had a deep laid plot at the door of the United Railways Company. They would give G5. the benefit of the doubt until the two met.

The labor men got busy to get this C.C.4. to come to their office on a certain day and at a certain time. For some reason C.C.4.'s visits to 810 Olive Street were not as frequent of late. That was against him, and helped G5.'s argument. C.C.4. in his affidavit said that he knew our East Side man G5. G5. said in all probability he did know him if he were a money lender, as there were a number of them around the shed each pay day, but he did not know him by this profession. This St. Louis or-

ganizer C.C.4. used two names—was known by a good many of his acquaintances by both of them. He claimed his father died when he was quite young and his mother married again, and some knew him by his father's name and others by his step-father's. Anyway, all of us, as well as the East Side operatives, knew him by both. G5. had known him for years, and had worked with him.

The plot was started to get the two men together. The labor men at 810 Olive Street were in earnest in their efforts, and they arranged with G5. to be where they could get in communication with him the next day, and for him to be near so he could come to this office within a few minutes' notice. In the meantime they would arrange to have C.C.4. come to their office. As soon as G5. left them he would communicate with Cameron and McCulloch and tell them the arrangements. Then the United Railways men would get C.C.4 and have him some place else, at the time the meeting was to take place. They would have him either at the Company's office or in the county or on some other imaginary job. If he told McCulloch that he had an engagement at 810 Olive Street, McCulloch would say, "Oh, well you can see them later." He was still innocent of the Company or the Union men's knowing anything about the affidavit. G5. would be at the appointed place waiting for his call. Naturally C.C.4. did not show up. When C.C.4 did come to the labor office on Olive Street he had a good excuse, and the men did not have anything of importance to tell him, so breaking the engagement was not much of a crime. They made three or four engagements similar to the one just mentioned, and

C.C.4. did not show up at any time, so this made G5's story look good, and looked very much like the Company was trying to job him. Of course G5. was wise enough not to make an engagement to come on this side, unless he knew everything was all right and arranged by the Company.

About the time the fourth meeting was made, McCulloch and Cameron thought the St. Louis man should be at the meeting. He was there, but G5. did not show up. He had been there every time before and had a good excuse. This same game was carried on for some time, G5. gaining their confidence all the time. Cameron was to make a trip East, and there had to be something done with C.C.4. during his absence, so they would not get together. It was decided to send C.C.4. to Cincinnati. C.C.4. was notified that the Company wanted him to make a trip and to get his grip ready that evening, as Mr. Cameron would call for him at such a time and take him to the station in his machine. Cameron gave him a long talk and told him that his (Cameron's) duties were increasing, and from the present appearance of affairs he and McCulloch had decided to put him in charge of all the inspectors in a short time. His ticket and berth had been purchased and given to him. This was unusual, but they did not want him to know where he was going when he left home. He was to locate some imaginary man in Cincinnati and was to stay there until notified by Cameron to return. C.C.4. knew Cameron was going East and was to return the following Saturday. He spent a few days in Cincinnati looking for this said

man and could not locate him, so he decided to return to St. Louis on his own responsibility.

On his return to the city he went to 810 Olive Street and made arrangements to come to their office Sunday morning, as some car men wanted to join the Union. These people immediately notified G5. of the arrangement, who said he would be there without fail. The post office was just across the street from the Union office. He was to wait in there for his call. This was Saturday. G5. tried to get Cameron, and the office notified him that they did not expect Cameron until Sunday, and they were unable to locate McCulloch. They were the only ones who knew anything about this case. G5. got into communication with me and said that I must stop this C.C.4. at once, and that he must not show up for the meeting the next morning. I called the United Railways office and the chief clerk assured me that Cameron would not be back until Sunday, so I decided to do what I could. I summoned one of my operatives and went to C.C.4.'s home; passed the time of day with him and told him we understood that he had an engagement the next morning with the labor men at 810 Olive Street. He seemed very much surprised at us knowing anything about it. I told him as Cameron was away that I had charge of the work and for him not to keep the engagement. He promptly told me that I was not his boss and that he would go where he damn pleased, and that he woud be at the labor office the next morning, and if we did not believe it, for us to be down there and we would see him go in. I told him he had better think it over and do as I said. He answered, saying that he did not have to think it over. With that we left

his house. His door was several steps from the street, and it was a miserable, cold, rainy night, the street lights were very poor. My operative and I were making our way cautiously down the steps, leaving C.C.4. standing in his door. My operative, unconscious of the organizer hearing him, said to me, "Jack, they have got that big ——— ——— and he don't know it. There won't be anything left of him but a grease spot when they drop him out of that window tomorrow." (The office was located several floors from the ground.) He later told us the remark my operative made on leaving his house that evening, which he overheard, was the first intimation he had that we really knew anything about this affidavit.

Cameron returned late Saturday evening. I had left word for him to call me up at once, which he did. I explained matters to him, so he stopped C.C.4. from making his Sunday morning visit to the Union office. G5. was right there and C.C.4. did not show up. This made it look like G5. was on the square. C.C.4. told me later that he would not have kept the engagement if Cameron had not returned.

C.C.4. said, that after we had left his home that evening he had an intuition that something was wrong, and could not sleep that night. In a few days Cameron notified him that he wanted him to take a trip and for him to meet him at the station. When they met that evening Cameron gave him a ticket to Kansas City and told him to report to a certain person there. This official in Kansas City was a friend of his and wanted him to supply him with a good man. Told C.C.4. that he would receive his pay from the Kansas City man. After re-

ceiving the ticket he asked Cameron where his sleeping car ticket was. Cameron told him he did not need one; that a chair car was all right for this trip. He had very little money when he left, and had to draw from the Kansas City man to live on. He finished this job in two weeks and had lived up his income. He wrote Cameron he was ready to return to St. Louis but was without funds. Cameron ignored this letter. Finally a wire came, and still no response. So he had to wire his wife for transportation for his return. He went to the United Railways office and Cameron informed him that he had nothing coming and that their agreement was at an end. Cameron did not make it clear to him why, but was trying to play innocent of the affidavit. G5. was happy and the Union men were satisfied that C.C.4. was a Company's man and a double-crosser.

Some time later C.C.4. met one of the Union men from 810 Olive Street. They made arrangements to have lunch together at 1 o'clock in a cafe on South Broadway. As the Company had no more interest in this operative, he did not notify us of this meeting. A few minutes before this Union man was to leave for his appointed luncheon with C.C.4., in walks G5., apropos. The office appointees had been appraised of this luncheon appointment. G5. was the man they needed as privy to this meeting. After this Union man made the engagement with C.C.4., he tried to locate G5., but was unable to do so. Therefore, when he came in by good chance, he was prevailed upon to accompany a crowd of their own to the cafe.

G5. later related that he did not know where he would

finally land, as he could see himself lying on a slab at the morgue. He could not remember how he got to the cafe. The man with whom C.C.4. had the engagement went in first. He did not more than get seated than in walked G5. and the rest of the crowd. All lined up at the bar, seemingly unconcerned. G5. knew the crowd was with him, and all he had to do was to put up a big bluff. Before the drinks were served, he looked over and saw the Union man from 810 Olive Street and C.C.4. sitting at a table. Without saying a word to the other fellows he walked over to the table and shook hands with the Union man and spoke to C.C.4., calling him by one of his surnames, which was not the one that was on the affidavit. After speaking to him he turned to the Union man and said, "In this the ——— ——— that made that affidavit?" and the Union man said, "Yes," and G5. said, "I have known this ——— for years, but knew him as So and So." By this time the crowd was around the table and up jumped C.C.4. He put his hands in his pockets and accused the crowd of trying to get him in a jam. With his hands in this threatening manner, he backed to the side door, and down the street he went at a speed of which a Liberty motor might have been proud.

The Union men did not follow him, as they were convinced as to who was right. To my knowledge they have never bothered him since. The Company tried to run him out of town by their usual tactics. If he secured a position anywhere, they would bring pressure to bear, and he would be notified that he would not be needed any longer. They kept this up until they thought they had satisfaction.

A COMPANY ORGANIZER'S MISHAPS

The United Railways Company had a man working for them who formerly was a fireman on the Frisco Railroad, running out of St. Louis. He was a Union man at that time. He desired a change and Cameron gave him a place as an inspector, or spotter. In a short time Cameron called him to the office, and told him they were going to try him on a damage case. He was not on the case over two or three days, before everyone connected with it knew what he was after. It was a lady, who had the suit against the Company. As soon as the lady knew who this fellow was, she played her part well. She let him entertain her for several weeks. When she and her lawyer thought the joke had been carried far enough, the Company was notified in a round-about way that they were onto their detective. This ended his career on damage cases.

As he was not a success on the damage cases, he was put back checking cars. Some time later the service had a cleaning out. He was one of the unlucky ones and lost his place. He went west for a year, then returned to St. Louis, and Cameron put him back checking cars. He was kept at that work during the following years.

He became dissatisfied, as he thought himself competent to do something else besides checking cars. At one time he tried to make a deal with some of the head officials of the car men's Union to try and organize the St. Louis car men. His idea was to keep on checking cars,

but to talk unionism to the car crew at the same time. He thought if he were supplied with the proper credentials, and had the backing of the Union officials, he could perfect a Local among the St. Louis car men. He expected to draw the salary of an organizer. As this man knew a number of the Company's detectives his idea was, if the Company put someone out looking for this supposed organizer, one of his acquaintances would be assigned to the work. As most of the operatives told one another what assignment they were on, he felt himself safe from detection in that way. The Union officials did not look with favor upon his plan, so he dropped it for a while. The next year he was getting ready to try to organize again. He was to have all the work done through the mails. He planned to have his mail come to one of the Labor headquarters. We caught him this time before he got started. He immediately left the Company and the city.

A year afterwards, one of his friends came to my office and said, "Do you know the ex-operative is back?" This friend had just met the ex-operative and his wife on the street, said they had just returned to the city that morning. I gave the friend some expense money and told him to keep in touch with the couple and notify me as to their movements and intentions. I notified the Company of his return. They said to keep track of him. Everything was quiet for a few days, when one of the following advertisements appeared in the "Post Dispatch," and the following morning the same one appeared in the "Globe-Democrat:" "Wanted.—High grade organizers for street railway. Good pay to right

men. Write J. C. Monahan, 3535 Pine Street, City." This was the latter part of September, 1914. The day the advertisement came out in the "Globe-Democrat" I had a conference with Mr. Cameron in regard to it. I told him I believed it was the ex-operative's work. It was about as raw as the most of his work. Also said, "I'll bet you he will come to you for a job." Cameron said he did not think so. I told Cameron I was going to the newspaper offices and get the original copy for the advertisement, which I did. I got both of them. I had left the United Railways Company's office only a few minutes, when in walks Mr. Ex-operative with the morning paper in his hand, wanting his old job back, saying he had noticed the add. from 3535 Pine Street. This address, 3535 Pine Street, was the Musicians' Union Headquarters. Owen Miller was affiliated with the Musicians, and as he had tried to organize the car men a few years before, this add. writer evidently thought it would terrify us. As this ex-operative still retained his Union card which he carried when he was a railroad fireman, he thought he could be of some service to the Company in finding out something about this J. C. Monahan.

Cameron wanted to see if I had secured the advertisements, so he told the ex-operative he would let him know later. The party who had written the advertisements tried to disguise his handwriting. Part of one was printed and a part was finished in long hand. I happened to have some of this ex-operative's handwriting and figures and one did not have to be an expert to know the figures were made by the same person and

the writing was very similar. When I took the add. to the office, Cameron got a lot of this fellow's old reports and we compared them, and there was no question but what they were written by the same person.

We mapped out a line to give this fellow a lively time. The first thing, Cameron was to put him off from day to day about his old job. This ex-operative had an old sweetheart here in the city. He had thrown her over and married another. We could count on this old sweetheart to help us. We got three of the best operatives we had, also the friend that this ex-operative had met on his return to the city. This friend was to visit the ex-operative every day and report to us what effect our work had on him. We sent one of our best men to interview his old sweetheart, and got this fellow's history almost from his cradle to the present day, family scandals, and so forth. The operatives were sent every place that we knew he visited, or where he tried to get a position. They would make inquiries about him and make casual remarks about his past—ask if he were still a street car spotter or any other questions that they might think of. They would send someone to his home as if they were sent from Union headquarters, asking him when he was coming after the mail that he had sent to this office under the name of J. C. Monahan. We would have some big, husky fellow ring his doorbell at night, asking him if he was Monahan the ex-street car spotter for the United Railways. Then we would have three or more men to stand like statues in sight of his window. If he would leave the house the men would walk a few steps behind him. They would not say a

word or offer any violence. You may be sure he would not open his mouth to them, and he did not lose any time while he was walking. If he boarded a street car he would not ask for a transfer, thinking that might let the trailers know where he was going. He would try going out the back door, still he could not get away. His friend would report to us everything he could find out. If it was reported to us that this ex-operative was going to be at a certain place the following day we put a shadow on him the next day, and pull the trailers off and send them to the place where he was going. When this ex-spotter would see the trailers there, he would almost collapse.

The following clipping from two of the St. Louis papers early in October, 1914, states their position on this impostor:

"ORGANIZER" FAILS TO BILK CAR MEN

Central Union Secretary Exposes Faker Working Among United Railways Employees

That a secret plan by an impostor posing as a union organizer to bilk the street railway men in St. Louis was frustrated last week by David Kreyling, secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Union, was declared at a meeting of that organization yesterday afternoon.

In circulars which he distributed the man represented himself as an authorized agent of the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employes, which has its headquarters in Detroit, Mich., Kreyling said:

The bungling nature of his work, however, led to his detection.

A telegram in reply to a letter of inquiry regarding the man's connection with the Amalgamated Association was received by Kreyling from William D. Mahon, the president, stating the "organizer" was connected in no way with the association and was an impostor. Kreyling asked that the newspapers warn the street railway men against him.

His friend reported to us that he was going to report the affair to the police, and was going to name me as instigator of the affair. I then reported to Mr. Cameron what this ex-man intended doing. Cameron said to call every operative off until further notice, which I did. This ex-spotter thought I was the man who knew his past, so he picked me as the one to get even with. Cameron said if I was summoned before any officials to hold my own and show my credentials and there would be nothing to it. So this ex-spotter went ahead and made his arrangements to try and trap me.

His friend, and our paid man, came to me with the scheme, as the ex-spotter had told him.

It was carried out precisely as he and the officers had arranged, after they had made their plans for our meeting. Then the next thing was to devise some way whereby they could get me to the appointed place without arousing my suspicions. As I had not met this ex-spotter since his return, he was to notify me by phone that he would like to see me and talk over old times, thinking without a doubt I would fall for that, and I did. I was right there at the time and place. After making the engagement his crowd thought it best for the ex-spotter's wife to keep the engagement instead of the husband. Why, I do not know; however, the engage-

ment was made and kept at the old Moser Hotel at twelve o'clock sharp.

I entered the hotel and leisurely stopped at the cigar counter, all the time on the lookout and getting my bearings as to what the little game was between the wife and the city would-be secret service men. I found it quite amusing. I went over to meet the lady, very glad to see her, and asked her where her friend husband was, and she explained that he had been detained and that she had come in his place. Of course this had all been prearranged. In the meantime I had taken the seat which she had obligingly reserved for me, so that the two city detectives whom she had engaged were seated within hearing distance of the conversation which was passing between her and myself, which was a very pleasant one. I asked her to have lunch with me; she declined. She then started on her troubles—wanted my advice. Having my eyes all the time on these two detectives, I suggested going to the parlor for our conversation. She remarked she could say all she had to say there. With that one of the city men was having difficulty in hearing all that was being said, so he moved a little closer to us, thinking the move was being unobserved by me. The other fellow was taking in every word. The lady was talking a little loud, so I suggested taking another seat, and also made the remark that someone was trying to get an ear full, and before she could answer I got up and took another seat. She came over reluctantly. A disgusted look came over the city men's faces, as this move put us out of their hearing. In a few minutes one of them came over and

said, "Mrs. —— we will take this 'guy' down to headquarters and let the chief talk to him." On the way to headquarters, unexpectedly we met the said chief, who happened to be on his way to lunch. He told these "Hawkshaws" to take the lady and myself on down to headquarters and he would be down presently. The ex-spotter's wife and myself were in one room with the detectives. While waiting, the city "Hawkshaws" tried out some of their wonderful skill of asking questions, claiming that a few minutes before so and so had been said; and Mrs. —— would resort to a few tears and tell how they had been persecuted by the United Railways Company.

During our conversation I found out when and how friend husband conceived the idea of trying to scare the Company about said Monahan. After this conversation was finished with the wife and the detectives, the chief returned. Leaving the three in the adjoining room, I was summoned to his office. After a short but very "breezy" interview I left the building and went about my business. The lady remained for some little time, after which she left with a very dejected look.

Our operatives had been placed around the lobby of the Moser Hotel in advance of the coming of the ex-spotter's wife. When the move was made to take us to the headquarters, the United Railways Company was notified. My men were near me on that memorable march to South 12th street, where headquarters were located. They waited outside during the time I was there. As soon as I came out I reported to Mr. Cameron. He wanted to know if the woman was still at

headquarters. I told him she was. He (Cameron) said, "As soon as she comes out, put every available man you have on her trail and run the ——— ——— out of town. We are tired of them, and the meddlesome interference of the police." Cameron's orders were carried out to the letter. Two days later the fellow's trunks left their rooms in a huckster's wagon, thinking that would throw us off. He then left the State and we have never had any more trouble with this man.

MANNING'S FAILURE TO ORGANIZE

Word came to us through our underground system that Dr. T. S. Manning, of 3867 Delmar Ave., was trying to organize the United Railways Company men. He formerly had his offices located at Taylor and Finney Avenues, which was one block from the Page, Taylor and Spaulding car sheds. His office was on the corner where the crews changed. This division was part of the 2nd division and had about 325 employees. He had a very good practice among the car men, and when he moved to 3867 Delmar Avenue, some of the men still retained him as their physician. He seemed to possess the idea that he could organize the men. As some of his charter members were from his former home, he thought they were trustworthy fellows. They may have seemed so to him, but some of them were our inside men. The doctor was honest in his intentions, but was unfortunate, getting only a few to join in his movement, and most of these were our inside men. He claimed he organized some coal miners at his former home at Vandalia, Mo.

I was one of his patients for some time. He treated and cured me, and, I might add, at the Company's expense. I was unable to get very much information out of him; however, some of our men got everything we wanted.

The doctor was discredited by the Unions and we did everything we could to have organized labor discredit him. We were successful, as we usually were at those

things. He was called a Company's man, and everything else that one might think of but an honest man by the Union men. Our East St. Louis representative, with some of his friends, called on the doctor and advised him to lay off the car men's organization, and also told him he was a fake and called him a Company's man. We would put advertisements in the daily papers to confuse the men and the doctor. Two of them read as follows: "Conductors and Motormen—Send self-addressed stamped envelope to Dr. T. S. Manning, 3867 Delmar, for important information. Lindell 4945." "Motormen and Conductors—All having receipts of third and fourth divisions call C. at once. Important."

The above was in the Special Notices of the "Times" of October 11, 1916.

The doctor was active during the shopmen's walkout in March, 1916.

We had our propaganda work going good and he did not have a ghost of a show. Our inside car men were giving the doctor all the encouragement they could. We could not give much financial assistance, as we were afraid he would become suspicious of our members. The car men gave us every move the doctor made, and we would always have his plans upset before he could get started. What we could not do and dared not do to keep from showing our hand our Union men would do. So what show did the poor doctor have?

The following clipping is from the St. Louis "Star," March 27, 1916:

DOCTOR SEEKING TO FORM STREET CAR UNION, AD REVEALS

Publishes Request for Motormen and Conductors to See Him—Asks $2.

That Dr. T. S. Manning, 3867 Delmar boulevard, is making an effort to organize the United Railways motormen and conductors into a union, became known this morning when a reporter for the Star called on the doctor at his home in answer to an advertisement which appeared in a Sunday newspaper.

The reporter posed as a conductor and was told that for $2 he could become a member of the union. The doctor said he had obtained about 200 members during the last month and expected that within another month he would have 2,000 or 3,000 members, and would then be ready to call a meeting which might result in a strike.

Dr. Manning told the reporter not to tell anyone of his visit, and not to return, because, he said, the United Railways had men watching his home day and night. He said one street car man did not follow his instructions and talked to fellow employees. As a result, he said, this man was dismissed by the company.

Dr. Manning said he would take the name of the reporter and put it in his book in code so that if the book should fall into the hands of the United Railways officials he would be safe from exposure. He told the reporter to send a stamped and addressed envelop to him and he would mail to him some literature after which the reporter could send the $2.

Dr. Manning said that the money he collected would be used for literature and the cost of advertising. He said he felt interested in the street car "boys" and wanted to help them. Dues of 25 cents a month will be charged after the union organization is completed, the

doctor said. He added he would have charge of the organization until the first meeting, when the members could elect officers.

The advertisement appeared under the heading, "Special Notices," and was as follows:

Wanted, conductors and motormen to send self-addressed envelopes to Dr. T. S. Manning, 3867 Delmar, Lindell 4945, for important information.

Richard McCulloch, president of the United Railways Company, said this morning that he had never heard of Dr. Manning and that no one employed by the United Railways was watching his house. He did not know whether any motormen or conductors had joined the union, but said if they had joined such an organization they should be out on Arsenal street. The reporter concluded he referred to the City Sanitarium.

Last week about 250 shopmen, brass molders and carpenters employed by the United Railways went out on strike. It was learned by The Star that a number of these returned to work and that several others, who attempted to get back were refused employment.

The doctor claims that his efforts to organize the men were responsible for the one cent raise, April 1, 1916. The following is quoted from the St. Louis "Star," April 1, 1916:

UNITED RAILWAYS CARMEN GET RAISE OF PENNY AN HOUR

McCulloch Says Increase for 3,000 Men Is Due to Return of Prosperity

McCulloch said that the wage increase is the result of a return of prosperity and denied that the plans of Dr. T. S. Manning, 3867 Delmar avenue, to form a union of

the car men was responsible. Dr. Manning's plan was told exclusively in the Star last Monday.

Dr. Manning wrote to W. D. Mahon, International President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, stating what he intended to do for the men and asked for his permission and assistance. Manning gave this letter to one of his trusted members to mail, and by the suggestion of this trusted member, Manning agreed that the letter should be shown to one of their representatives at one of the car sheds or divisions before sealing and mailing. The doctor thought it perfectly proper that the members should see it. The trusted member did not lose any time after getting his hands on that letter in hiring a taxi and delivering it to me, after which he received a handsome "tip."

I took a copy of this letter for future reference. I called Bruce Cameron on the phone and told him I had a letter for him. I went immediately to his office at 39th and Park Avenue. He read and re-read it and said we should not mail it. I contended that we must mail it. I told Cameron that Mahon knew of Manning and had been advised by different St. Louis men of his attempt to organize the men, and as they all considered him a fake Mahon would sit on him so hard that he would never recover from it. Cameron said, "Let me talk to the boss (McCulloch) about it." He left me in the office a short time and on his return he put the letter in the envelope, sealed it and in a few minutes the letter was on its way to Detroit.

In due course of time Manning received a reply to this

letter. As we had predicted, Mahon sat on the doctor so hard it took all the organization out of him for all time to come. Mahon, like all the rest, fell for our propaganda and crushed a man who had good intentions, who was loyal to his fellow-men, and would have been a "thorn in the side" of the United Railways Company.

These two managers at 39th and Park avenue are marvelously dextrous in controlling their men. The famous wizard of the cue "Show me a shot I can't make," does not calculate the momentum or inertia of his ivory balls with more precision than these two jugglers of the personnel engaged in their nefarious enterprises.

I made a trip to Dr. Manning's old home, Vandalia, Mo. I represented myself as a reporter for one of the St. Louis papers. My paper was supposed to publish Dr. Manning's history. I interviewed a number of persons, obtained some very interesting incidents of his life, dug a few skeletons out of the family closets, and other things that would not look very good in print. We had enough sensational things on him to make him do as we wished when the proper time came. If he did not, we had the copy ready for the printers to strike off our hand-bills, which would have been distributed. We were in no hurry to put a quietus on the doctor's work, as the company was always anxious to find out how many of our men were in sympathy with the organization. For this reason they figured, why not let the doctor find out for them. What did the company care if he got one or a hundred members, they would all get

fired when the time came. Then all the men on the system would want to know why they were let out. It would have the desired effect. The next man who would try to organize would go up against a hard proposition.

At this time the Company thought they had the men under such control the crew was afraid to stop the car and let a Union man get on. If the Union man was a well-known man and he stopped to speak to a motorman or conductor the said employee was almost sure of a trip to the general office. They might neglect the register and miss a trip to the office—but woe unto them if they did anything that looked like unionism.

As I said before, Dr. Manning was active during the shopmen's walkout. I had very little to do with that trouble. That was handled by a local Detective Agency that made a specialty of strong-armed men. They were a brave lot of fellows. If there were two or more of the detectives together and they saw one of the strikers who did not look husky they would tackle him.

The following clipping from the St. Louis "Globe Democrat" of March 29, 1916, throws some light on this subject:

U. R. SHOP STRIKER SAYS TWO MEN HIT HIM AFTER MEETING

ONE OF THE DETECTIVES ARRESTED ASSERTS RAILWAY EMPLOYE HIT FIRST

Stories of self-defense on both sides were told by a striking machinist of the United Railways, and two private detectives, in an explanation last night at the Sou-

lard Street Police Station. The stories dealt with a struggle Monday night at Texas and Eads avenues.

William T. Bowman, a striking shopman, reported to the police yesterday that the detectives had watched the strikers at a meeting held Monday night in Union Hall, 1520 Cass avenue, and that several of the men who walked out accompanied the business agent of their union to his home, near Texas and Eads avenue. Bowman said that while he was waiting for a car two men attacked him.

Police Lieutenant Florida sent patrolmen yesterday to Texas and Eads avenues, and they arrested Robert Smalik of 2847 McNair avenue and John Pierce of 3918 West Belle place, both of whom stated they were private detectives. Bowman identified Pierce at the Soulard station as one of the three men he said had attacked him. Pierce said he was attached, instead, by Bowman and other union men.

Charles P. Comer, a lawyer, arranged a common law bond for Smalik, for whom the police will ask a warrant today, charging him with carrying a concealed weapon, a hand billy. Pierce, who was charged with impersonating a policeman, gave a Police Court bond.

The following statements were made by McCulloch fifteen days apart, first to the St. Louis "Star," March 16, 1916:

250 SHOP MEN OF UNITED RAILWAYS GO OUT ON STRIKE

President McCulloch Says Employees Made No Demands Before Quitting

The men were laid off, he said, because of the difficulty the company has had in getting material for them to work with and "because of the difficulty in getting

money to pay them." He explained that he meant by the last remark that business was not good.

The following is from the "Post-Dispatch" of April 1:

3000 U. R. MEN GET RAISE IN PAY OF CENT AN HOUR

NEW SCALE FOR CONDUCTORS AND MOTORMEN IS FROM 24 TO 28 CENTS; TOTALS $100,000 A YEAR; GIVEN VOLUNTARILY

McCulloch said improved business conditions had resulted in more traffic and that the company was in a position to pay better wages. He denied that the company's action was caused by a fear that motormen and conductors would strike. A strike of employes in the Company's shops has been on for several days.

McCulloch said exact figures of increased traffic were not available, but that in the past year there had been an increase of about 5 per cent in traffic.

From the two clippings you can see the wonderful change in business conditions, from Manager McCulloch's point of view, in fifteen days.

OUR MONEY BOUGHT HIM

We received word that a new East St. Louis car man was talking unionism to the United Railways Company's men. Our East Side man, G5., was unable to find out very much about his work, as some of the members of the East Side Local No. 125 were suspicious of our man G5. This new organizer was staying clear of him, as he was a bona fide organizer and very clever. He worked in the dead hours of the night, made a specialty of the owl cars and early morning runs, as he knew the Company could not shadow him on the owl cars very long without his learning of it. We used automobiles to follow the cars he rode on, and tried to keep track of him only when he came to St. Louis. We kept a man at Eads bridge, which was the only direct route to East St. Louis. Sometimes he would change his route and go to the McKinley bridge, which was several miles up the river, and cross there, at other times he would take the train across, and several times we found him crossing the river in a covered transfer wagon. In his original ideas of throwing us off he was clever. He did lots of work that we knew nothing of at that time.

For a good while the Company treated him just like they did a lot of other fellows who sprang up. We hired a few of the conductors and motormen whom we knew this organizer had persuaded to join this movement. He was so much on guard they could not get much information from him. We would send some of

our trusted car men to him; they would join his organization, and all the information they would get from him would be about themselves. Then we hired some car men who had been reported to have joined his organization, and they told us they had joined and were very sorry and if we would not fire them they would give us all the information they could get. Instead of telling us the truth, they would mislead us. They went back to the organizer and told him about being hired by the United Railways Company to betray his movements. He then advised them to continue with the Company and report whatever he told them to tell us. We found out some of the fellows were double-crossing us. The Company thought it best not to fire them, as we might want to place the blame on the guilty ones later.

Whenever the organizer came over to St. Louis, he would have a bodyguard, as the Company had the reputation that any one found trying to organize their men would need a guard. Therefore, he used a great deal of precaution at that time.

The Company received different reports that this fellow had a number of members in his organization, so later in the summer the Company began to get uneasy. Cameron was about ready to take his vacation. Before going he told me to try to stop this fellow, as he was getting to be a nuisance and McCulloch was tired of him.

I had a man in my employ who made a specialty of interviewing. His duties were to look a man over, get a general line on what kind of a man he thought he was, and see if he could be approached with a money

proposition; also to find out to what secret orders he belonged, what his family connections were, and, in fact, everything in general about him.

I sent this man to look this organizer over. He made a favorable report on him. The next day he went to interview the organizer and found him very agreeable. Arrangements were made for the organizer to come to St. Louis the following day, as he had a proposition to make him. The said organizer was very anxious to know what it was about. Our man gave him to understand that it was on Union matters, but lacked authority to say anything definite about it. He told him to come alone. The organizer replied that money could not hire him to come alone, as he knew the Company too well. He said he was enjoying good health and wanted to continue so! However, he agreed to talk to our man alone if he were permitted to bring a friend with him as a guard. Since our man and the organizer belonged to the same order, this agreement was satisfactory. The next day at their meeting our man told this organizer that he represented a party who wanted to talk to him about his organization and that this party was in a position to make it of particular interest to him. Our man's talk convinced him, as he was bound to lose in every way he had better listen to a good proposition while he had the opportunity. The organizer then agreed to meet me the next day in one of the big buildings down town. He was to meet our interviewer, who was to accompany him to the meeting place, assuring him there would be no trouble while he was in St. Louis.

According to agreement we all met the next day. I was with him for several hours. I wanted to put him on our pay roll, requesting him to quit talking unionism to our men. If he did and got members, for him to tell me who they were, tell me how many members he had, and turn them over to me. I made him a very attractive offer financially. He declined the proposition, but agreed to think it over and meet me at the same place the following day. I knew then I had interested him and felt confident we would come to an understanding. The next day when he met me he was in fine spirits, and I knew I had him. He agreed to be my representative at a good salary. He was to keep us posted from that day on, and tell us all the members he got and his live prospects. The agreement was, he need not divulge the names of the members whom he had prior to making this agreement with us. That was perfectly satisfactory to me, for I knew that in time I would get the names of them all anyway.

These arrangements were completed the day before Cameron returned from his vacation. When he returned I made my report and was complimented by both him and McCulloch.

It took me about a month to get this organizer lined up. He would go and talk to the men and forget to tell me what they said to him. At our different interviews I played on him to elicit something about the members he had before coming with us. It was arranged between the Company and some of our faithful men who had joined the organization, that they were to be fired but would receive their pay all the time they were off. It

was passed around among the men that they were fired for joining the Union. All this would go back to the organizer. When he asked me about it, I would tell him we found out they were members through another source. All of this had the desired effect on him. One day I showed him some receipts which he had given some of the members, and told him he was foolish to let us find out through other sources what he did before he came over to our side. I also told him he would be blamed any way, so why not tell me all he knew and hold on to his nice salary? If it came to us through another source why should we pay him?

He told me he was going to send the list of all the names of the men who had joined the movement, to Detroit, the home office. I told him that made no difference to us, as we would get them sooner or later any way. He did not see how he could let us have a copy of the names of his members without suspicion being raised. After his talking this way I knew we could get the names. The only thing was to devise some way to satisfy him that he should not be suspected. Before this meeting of ours, he had made arrangements to be out of the city for a week, and expected to make the trip in two weeks from this date. I suggested for him to take his family with him at the Company's expense, on this proposed trip. If he would do this we could make arrangements to get all of his documents during his family's absence, and he would be blamed only for being careless in leaving the priceless documents unguarded in his home during their absence. This suggestion appealed to him, if he could get the family to

go. The family was economical and he did not know how to approach his wife about the expense of the proposed trip.

Up to this time he had not told his wife about being with the United Railways Company. He knew she would object to the expense. He said he would see me the next day, and see if he could prevail upon his family to go by showing them that it should not cost them anything to make the trip. He would agree to let me have all of his Union documents. When he met me the next day he had succeeded in making arrangements to take his family with him. I think he told them he had won some money on the ball game. The next thing was to devise some way for the Company to get the documents. He drew a diagram of his house, showing doors, stoves, beds, telephone, dressers, desks and rugs, and the different places where the precious papers were kept. I wanted to visit his home with one or two of my men so they could see the inside of the house themselves. He objected to this, as he wanted it to appear that the house had been broken into, after the discovery had been made that the Union papers were gone. I told him if we did as he suggested the men must see the location of everything in his house. After a lot of wrangling he agreed to let the men visit his place, if he could get his wife away from home long enough. I offered to get matinee tickets for the coming Saturday for her and the family at one of the St. Louis theatres. He said that would be satisfactory, if he could get her to go. He was to let me know later what the decision was. The next

day he told me to get the seats, as everything was arranged.

The arrangement was for me to be at the west approach of Eads bridge Saturday at one o'clock with two men. As soon as the family came over from the East side and started to the theatre, I was to shadow them and stay with them until the show was over. If she should change her mind and go home before expected, he should be notified. As soon as she arrived in St. Louis the two men were to start for his home. Everything worked out as planned. The family enjoyed the play, and my men were shown through the house. At my next meeting with him, I wanted him to give me a key to the house. He flatly refused, and contended our agreement was for the house to be broken into. He would not listen to my argument about giving me a key. When we parted that day he was not in a very good humor, as I had informed him that I would not pay the expenses of his family's trip unless I was given a key to his house. I told him that we wanted his Union papers, but we would not break into the house, as we could get them some other way. This remark worried him. On our parting at this meeting he tried to leave the impression that our arrangements were at an end. I felt sure he would be afraid to take his family with him for fear the house would be broken into; if he did not take them what excuse would he have to offer them? Early the next morning he called me over the phone and made an engagement for later in the day. When he met me he said he had decided it was best to do the way I suggested. With that he gave me a key to his

house. They were to leave in a few days on their trip—everything was ready.

The afternoon before they were to leave, the wife possessed of a woman's intuition, without consulting her husband had another lock put on the door of which I had the key. The husband came home late that night and used another door. He knew nothing about the changed lock until the next morning. He could not use his home phone to call me and tell me of the change. He went to a public phone. I was out and he could not reach me. He had asked his wife for one of the keys before he called me, thinking to mail it to me. Having them both in her handbag, she informed him she did not have time to get it—anyway he would not need it until they returned home. Of course he could not insist. He had to devise some way to get that key, as they were to leave on their trip at nine o'clock. They left home with their baggage and in a hurry; when they were about half a block from home he discovered he had left his pocketbook (and he really had, on purpose). In that way the wife gave him the key to the new lock. When he rejoined her she said nothing about the key. The next thing was to get the key to me. The two men and myself were at the station to see that they really left the city. As soon as I saw him he gave the signal that he wanted to see me. Making an excuse to get away from the family, he met me in a private place and gave me the key, with instructions to mail it to him without fail to the city where he was going, as he must have it on his return. Our time was too short

for much explanation. I promised to send the key in a few days, which I did.

As soon as this man started on his trip McCulloch and Cameron commenced calling me over the phone, had me come to the office. Their cry was, "When are we going to get the Union papers? Other people higher up are after us, so you must get them. When can we expect them?" For various reasons our men did not get the papers for several days. The office kept after me to hurry. At last the men reported by phone that they had been successful, and in a short time they were in my office.

They had a complete organizer's outfit, a list of almost a hundred members, organizer's books, and a great many letters. Among the letters we found some from members who were our inside men, whom we had requested to write to the organizer.

Each family in the neighborhood had dogs. These animals seemed to know our men were strangers and had no business there. Our men reported the dogs were their worst trouble.

When I notified the office that I had been successful, they requested me to come there at once, which I did. Up to this time, this was the strongest Union movement we had been up against; so when I delivered all the documents, McCulloch and Cameron were very much elated. In relating the experience the men had in the vicinity of the organizer's home, I told them about one of them having his rain coat split up the back by one of the neighbor's dogs. McCulloch was feeling so good that he gave me thirty dollars for the man for a new rain coat.

In a few days the family returned from their trip. On entering the house they discovered it had been ransacked. All they could find missing was the Union papers. Money, jewelry and other valuables had not been disturbed. The wife fainted and there was quite a commotion for a few days. As the United Railways Company was the only interested party, they were blamed. As the Company was accustomed to being blamed for everything, that did not worry them. In a short time about one hundred men were hunting a new job.

In a few days one of the national organizers arrived in the city. With four or five of the discharged men, he made a few hours' investigation. He ended it by advising the men to get a new job, and left the city the same day he came. So this ended another attempt of the men to organize.

FRANCHISE

The United Railways Company was trying to secure a new franchise for some of its lines. As usual, the Central Trades Council objected. The Company said the only reason the Central Trades opposed the franchise was because the Company did not recognize Union labor.

Cameron phoned me Sunday, November 11, 1917, asking me what action the Central Trades Council had taken that day in regard to the public hearing on the franchise for the coming Tuesday night in the Aldermen's Chambers at the City Hall. I told him a lengthy report was read, and a number of serious defects were found in the proposed franchise. Five hundred copies of the committee's report were ordered printed for distribution. A number were to be distributed at the meeting Tuesday night. A request was made for all members to be present Tuesday night at the City Hall, and from all indications there would be a good attendance.

He said we should have a crowd of our own at the public meeting the coming Tuesday night. Wanted to know how many of our inside car men would be there and if they could bring some friends with them. Requested me to go down on Market Street, and get all the clean-looking fellows I could hire. All the inside men promised to be there that night and bring one or more friends with them; one man brought his grocery man and two automobile loads of friends. I hired a

group of fellows from Market Street, who were to meet at Twelfth and Market Streets at seven o'clock. The place of meeting was the saloon on the opposite corner from the City Hall. It looked like a gathering of a young Coxey's army. The men were given several rounds of drinks and their instructions, and then taken to the Council Chambers early enough to procure choice seats. There were two men in charge of the Market Street men. They were to be scattered in grōups of ten and twelve in the gallery. The men were to watch their boss, and when he gave the signal they were to be very demonstrative. McCulloch and Cameron were on the first floor. One or both of them would give the signals to the bosses in the gallery when to have their men applaud. The friends of our inside men were on the first floor, and they were in a position to know the side they were to applaud. We had to have two men in charge of our Market Street men. One of our agreements with the men was, to give them all they wanted to drink. We worked them in relays; while part of them were out getting a drink with one of the men in charge, the other part would be in the gallery watching McCulloch's signals, to start the noise, when some speaker made a remark in favor of the United Railways Company. They had instructions to hiss or groan if the speaker was against the Company. McCulloch was the semaphore for the Market Street men that night.

The majority of the visitors to the Aldermen's Chambers on that memorable night were in favor of the Company getting the franchise.

The next day Cameron wanted to know where I got

so many men, and said we should keep in touch with them, as we might need them again.

The Company was properly accused by the labor people of "stuffing" the meeting that night. Our inside men on the first floor had instructions if there was a fight started, to clean out the opposing side. The two men in charge of the gallery had instructions to bring this crowd down if they saw they were needed. Sure enough, one of our head men started a "rumpus," but it was stopped before it had gone very far, much to the regret of McCulloch. Lee Meriwether was to be one of the speakers that night, and in case this "rumpus" were started during his speech, even resulting in his discomfiture one way or another, our officials should have been doubly pleased, since there was little love lost between Lee Meriwether, Geo. Baumhoff, General Manager of the old St. Louis Transit Co., and the present United Railways management. At different times the above gentlemen would write articles for the daily papers in regard to the street car situation in St. Louis, other times it would be announced that one of them was going to make a talk at some public gathering in regard to the United Railways Company.

This explains why instructions were particular concerning Meriwether and Baumhoff. The two should have considered themselves fortunate that night that they were able to get away without accident. This was the last public hearing on the franchise in the Aldermen's Chambers.

November 18, 1917, the Central Trades Council received the report of the United Railways Company com-

mittee on the public hearing held November 13th, which lasted until 1 a.m.; also that no further public hearings were granted, it evidently being the intention of the Board of Aldermen to pass the bill. A recommendation was made that a public mass meeting composed of members of organized labor and also of all business and improvement, civic and other organizations be held on the steps at the 12th Street entrance of the City Hall on Wednesday, November 28th, at 8 p.m. This was adopted. In case of rain the meeting was to be held in the rotunda of the City Hall.

Mr. Cameron told me a few days after the above meeting had been arranged, that we must do all that we could to break it up, and for me to get a good number of husky fellows. If the meeting were held in the open, our men were to make such a disturbance that it would be broken up. His only fear was that it would be held in the rotunda. He had no fear if it were an out-of-door meeting. Said it was a ten to one shot that it would be held in the rotunda, as the weather conditions for an open-air meeting at this time of the year were unfavorable. Cameron thought it useless to have our men start a rumpus in the rotunda. He said we should make all arrangements for the meeting the same as if it were going to be held in the rotunda. He told me the company had used their influence in trying to have the use of the rotunda denied the delegation for the coming meeting, but they were unsuccessful in the attempt, as there were too many Union men back of the proposed public meeting. I was then instructed to see what could be done about having the rotunda put into darkness the

night of the public meeting. Cameron told me to see a certain man at the City Hall, who he said, would do anything I should ask of him. When I visited this man he informed me that he had nothing to do with the electricians. He told me the United Railways Company was asking and expecting too much. He said the lights must be on that night, as the labor people were expecting too large an attendance to admit of anything like that. I made another engagement with him for later in the day. I went to the United Railways Company office and made my report, after which we held a conference about the coming meeting. Different ways were suggested as to how it was to be broken up. One of them was for me to visit this said friend of McCulloch's again at the City Hall, and have him show me around, where the switch for the lighting of the rotunda was located. Some of the officials suggested if we could locate the switch, that possibly we could take the night attendant unawares, and put the lighting system out of commission. They thought it best not to bribe any of the night men at the City Hall. Their suggestion about putting the lighting system out of commission was the most practical.

During this interview, Cameron said he had heard of the Union people using obnoxious odors of some kind when they wanted to run diners out of a cafe where there was a strike. He wondered if we could not procure some of it, or some of the German's gas. He said if we had something like that, we could clean every —— —— out of the rotunda. His suggestion was interest-

ing, as we all at that time were reading what a disastrous effect the gas had on the opposing army in Europe.

It was suggested that I try and get some of the fluid. Before I left the United Railways office, we decided if I could get a quantity of the gas, and the lights were turned off at the opportune time, we would have no difficulty in breaking up the meeting. Their idea was to get a large quantity of the gas, have it put into small vials, cover these with black cloth, and have a number of our men distribute these vials among the crowd that night. If the meeting was to be in the rotunda of the hall, every one would be standing. In that way our men could pass among the people, and by having the gas in these vials, and covered with cloth, they could be dropped to the floor without very much danger of breaking them. The black cloth would keep the vials from being noticeable while they were lying on the floor. The Company's plan was to put out the lights at a set time. Just before the zero time arrived our men were to pass rapidly through the standing crowd and drop the vials of gas. In the darkness the crowd moving around could not see what they were stepping on. In that way Cameron expected that the vials would be broken. If you feel an object under your foot, your first thought is to kick it, or see if you can crush the object. His suggestion was good. They finally agreed for me to visit McCulloch's man at the City Hall, arrange about the lights, then to get the gas. It was decided for me to go to Kansas City to procure this gas. This arrangement was made at the United Railways Company office several days before the meeting was scheduled.

After leaving the office I visited the City Hall, and was shown around the building. I thought I had made satisfactory arrangements. That night I went to Kansas City. On arriving there I went to a chemist, who, after showing him my credentials, was over-anxious to assist me, as I left the impression with him that I wanted to use the gas to break up I. W. W. meetings in the northwest. At that time there was a great deal in the papers about the activities of the I. W. W. and he thought it his duty to help me. His laboratory was small and he was unable to supply the ingredients for the gas. He located a laboratory, however, that could fill the formula, and told them he was sending me to them. Also told them not to hesitate to give me what I wanted, as I was all right. I had no trouble in getting over one hundred of the small vials, and was ready for my return to St. Louis that night. I was around the laboratory most of the afternoon. The odor from the new gas of the United Railways Company's new weapon was almost unbearable. The vials were corked, sealed, and well wrapped and in my bag under my berth. With all that I had the odor all the way to St. Louis. The train was over three hours late in arriving in St. Louis. This was Wednesday, the day before Thanksgiving, a typical November day. Cold rain commenced to fall early in the day. I was satisfied then that there would be no open meeting.

When I arrived at my office word was there for me to call Cameron at once, which I did. In a short time I was at the office and found they had decided not to bother the lights as they were afraid if the lights were

turned out, and the gas was turned loose while the lights were off, there might be a stampede for the exits and occasion loss of life. Still, Cameron said to use the gas. With the approach of night the rain increased.

We had our gas men at Twelfth and Market Streets about eight o'clock; a few marchers passed on their way to the City Hall, which was on the opposite corner. In a short time a small band with a few marchers, banners and umbrellas passed on their way to the meeting. Now the Company's gas men moved to the meeting in the rotunda. The rotunda of the City Hall is large and the height runs several stories to the cupola. On each floor there is a large balcony. When the gas men arrived at the meeting they were surprised at the small attendance. The first floor was not as crowded as we expected—too few on this floor to try the experiment with the bottles. The upper had a few persons standing around the railing. With the small attendance it was not advisable to use the gas. That was the last mass meeting of the franchise.

Thus, since we were disappointed in using the gas, and also were disappointed in the curiosity we felt in pulling off a spectacular stunt, in order to disrupt a meeting we considered inimical to the wishes and welfare of the United Railways Company; at least we had the satisfaction of knowing, since Cameron's ingenious preparations to mar the meeting had been futile, that the elements had come to our assistance in carrying out our purpose. So the unwritten motto of the United Railways Company, "We get what we want," was again realized.

STRIKE, 1918

In December, 1918, before the car strike, Cameron told me that it looked like everyone in St. Louis was against the Company. He said the Labor organizations, Civic League and all Improvement Associations were against them and against the franchise they were trying to get. Also said we wanted an increase in fare, but under the present conditions if we asked for it, every son-of-a-gun in St. Louis would be on our neck. He remarked, "If we could get the Unions on our side they would help us."

Cameron knew that I had previously sent out "feelers" to a number of the Labor leaders and that they turned a deaf ear to our proposition. We felt that the company could not expect any assistance from the Labor people. After we discussed the situation for some time and from different angles, he asked me what I thought of letting the men organize. He said if they had an organization the Company could get what they wanted. I told him that I thought we could get a Local formed without any trouble. Cameron told me to come back the following day, which I did.

I met both McCulloch and Cameron. After a brief discussion McCulloch suggested for me to do a little missionary work among our inside men and find the easiest way to cause dissatisfaction among the road men. On account of the World's War at that time there was a shortage of men in street car work, as well as in all

other lines of industry. Under these conditions the Company was putting on a few women as conductors. At McCulloch's request I started on my missionary work. Interviewing several of our paid inside men, I found that they looked upon the women as a bad "omen." Some of the men thought if the Company would pay a living wage they would have no trouble in getting all the men they needed. They were afraid if they should have many women conductors the pay might be cut. This conversation was among themselves when they were sure that no one knew what they were talking about. When I made my report to the Company and told them how the men felt about the women, I suggested that we start our union propaganda on that line. I was told to act upon my own intuition, but to be careful.

I visited our inside men and told them to talk to every conductor and motorman about the Company putting on women conductors, and to tell the men in a quiet way that they had inside information that the Company had one thousand uniform suits for the women stored away, and in a short time every man conductor would be gone, as the women's suits were all ready and they could expect a change at any time.

We knew some of the motormen's wives were jealous. We would have reports reach them that their husbands were very attentive to their women conductors. They would leave the car and buy their lunch, adjust the trolley, attend to the fires and possibly entertain them after completing their runs. A great many of the wives, therefore, would object to their husbands working on the runs with the women conductors; others disliked

them because they were classed as job-getters. The wives were convinced that it was only a question of time until the women would take their husbands' places. The women conductors were given a little preference as it was. They had been placed ahead of the men and given daylight runs over the older employees. All of the employees knew this.

We would have several of our inside men talk to a prospective Union man about the advantage of unionism. In a short time a number of the employees took it up in a quiet, earnest way. These employees were not Company men. Work was plentiful and wages high, so they argued if they did lose their jobs with the United Railways Company they would not be losing much. Some of the men really believed they could form a Union. When our men got hold of an enthusiastic fellow like that they gave him all the encouragement they could, as the Union talk at that time did not worry the Company in the least. We would have one of our operatives call on the wife of the active Union worker during his absence from home, and would offer to put her on a salary if she would tell the Company all she could get out of her husband about the Union. The operative would tell her that the movement was sure to lose, and if she would do as he requested, the husband would be reinstated after the trouble was over. If she accepted the proposition we would carry out our part. If she did not accept, she would tell her husband that she had been offered money by the Company and that would spur him to more activity. He would tell his fellow-

workers, which we wanted him to do. So we were bound to win either way.

After we had the movement started, Mr. Cameron remarked one day, "I always told you the —— —— bunch of ——— ——— from Detroit could not organize my men until I got good and ready for them to do so. They can send one of their organizers whenever they are ready." This was in the middle of January. Cameron would discharge some man who was an honest Union agitator. He would have the rumor spread that he was fired for talking unionism. Our inside men would work that much harder on Union affairs. The movement was gaining great momentum every day. The discharged men began to meet around at different places. I want to say now emphatically, as far as I know, every man who was discharged during this period for talking or being a Union agitator or had any part in forming the Local, was a conscientious and honest man; and I do not believe they had any agreement with the Company.

While the discharged fellows were having their meetings, our inside men were busy, passing the word down the line, "They are going to have another meeting tonight, what do you say to going? The Company does not know anything about the meeting, so why not go down and see what they are doing?" During the last week of January they had a meeting every night. At each succeeding meeting a few more car men would attend.

In the immediate vicinity of the hall the Company

would distribute I. W. W. literature. (Later I will explain the I. W. W.)

During all these meetings up to the eventful Saturday night—the night the strike was called—I never saw a road officer or operative, with the exception of the I. W. W. literature distributors near the meetings. I was sitting in my machine where I could see all who entered the hall. In former times the Company would have the street full of road officers, detectives and the Austrian Jew's trusted men.

At that time one of the International officers was in East St. Louis on business for Local No. 125. When the movement commenced to look promising to the St. Louis car men and to a few of the local Labor leaders, they invited the International man of East St. Louis to come over and help them. He refused to come at first, saying it was another trick of the United Railways Company. When that was reported to McCulloch he said, "I guess we will have to force the men to form their own Local."

McMorrow was the said International officer. The next time he was invited he came with reluctancy. When he saw the earnestness of the men present he became enthused and was satisfied it was no trick of the Company. McMorrow at once wired the home office in Detroit for assistance. Wm. Fitzgerald was sent and a very able man he proved to be. He arrived in St. Louis Thursday or Friday. He saw everything was ripe for an organization. What they had dreamed about since 1900 was in sight. McCulloch's "Hill Billies," so styled by the Amalgamated Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, were ready for a local; how did it

happen? What had come over the men, that they had crawled out of their shells? The city through which the International President had the misfortune to pass a few months before, being compelled to remain in the station four hours between trains, offered no welcome whatever in the interest of the St. Louis car men. The one who waited in the emigrant waiting-room, and walked the midway smoking non-Union cigars while waiting for his midnight train to take him out of this "farmer infested" street car town, was soon to have one of his strongest locals! His subordinates for years had visited the city on the East side of the Mississippi river, and had failed to make us a visit except at certain intervals; and these were made reluctantly and in company with friends. At times, when some movement was started here and one of the officers was assigned to St. Louis, he would take the assignment as a punishment, as it were, or demotion for some previous work he had done. Now they were sure to have a Local! They were all stupefied. Most of the meetings up to this time had been held in a small hall down town. This said Friday night they had a meeting and a good attendance. The usual committees were appointed and one committee was to wait on McCulloch, to ask him to recognize their Union. Arrangements were made for them to meet Saturday night at a large hall, 2228 Olive Street.

The meeting for Saturday was to be a public meeting. They felt strong enough to come out in the open and announce their intentions. They appointed everyone present as a committee to ride the cars the next day and ask the car crews to be at the meeting Saturday night.

I want to say now, if we did not have men in the street watching this stage of proceedings, we had our share of them at the meetings. No sooner were the meetings broken up (and a number of times they were in the early morning hours) than the reports would be made in person or by phone to me. I would then notify Mr. Cameron what progress had been made that night.

The committee that was to wait on McCulloch was to meet at their attorney's office Saturday morning, and then decide when they would call on him—Cameron asked me Saturday morning if I thought it advisable for McCulloch to see the committee. I told him I did not think it was. I was to be notified when the committee left the lawyer's office as to where they were gong. I so informed Cameron, and if they were going to the United Railways Company office McCulloch would have time to make his get-away. When the committee left the lawyer's office I was notified that they were on their way to the office of the United Railways Company. I immediately notified McCulloch that the committee was on their way to see him. They arrived at his office at noon. McCulloch was out. They were advised by Cameron to call by phone later. The committee returned at two o'clock. They were informed that McCulloch was in the county on business. They made another trip to see him at four o'clock, and were told he still was out. This time they left a sealed copy of the demands with Cameron for McCulloch.

In the meantime I had a bunch of men from one of the local detective agencies in a high-powered machine dashing from one carbarn to another distributing circulars

telling the men the advantages of being Union workers and inviting them to the meeting that night, Saturday, at 2228 Olive St., informing them that a Local would be formed at that time. Then I had a number of our own operatives scattered at the different outlying transfer points, giving out one of the United Railways Company's many I. W. W. circulars. These were printed in big red letters on white paper, 6x9.

We had so much to do Saturday we wished the day had been hours longer. Had the men lined up for their respective duties for the night. The strike was to be called at ten o'clock. There was the greatest surprise in store for the United Railways Company that ever was given any corporation. The Union men were to be as much surprised as the Company. No one ever dreamed in their wildest moments of the impending landslide. The Company expected about 200 to form a Local. Possibly make it a little inconvenient on some of their lines to move the cars. Have a few days of wrangling with the International men, Local men, and new officers of the newly formed Local. Then finally come to an agreement if the Union would use their influence for the Company to get an increase in fare. They would grant the men a raise and recognize the Local, but have an open shop. The Company expected to get a seven-cent fare, or forty per cent increase and give the men ten per cent increase, possibly fifteen, but not over that. We were dead sure that we would hold the Local down to a mere handful of men. They would possibly get a few scattered and disgruntled road men from time to time. After the Com-

pany received its increase in fare the Union men would be thinned out at the Company's leisure, and the public would remember the Union each time they paid a seven-cent car fare. The directors would remember them also when they received their dividends.

The men began to gather early at 2228 Olive Street. They came in crowds. All seemed in earnest. Every few minutes I would receive a report which I would relay to the United Railways office. Nine o'clock came —there was entirely too much enthusiasm and the men were too willing to join. Nine-thirty came—and it looked very bad for us. As the hour grew later, more men came. As fast as the crews finished their day's run they would immediately go to 2228 Olive Street. They did not stand on the sidewalk; they would go at once to the Union representative and sign the application card and pay their fee. The zero hour, ten o'clock, was approaching fast, and our spirits were going down fast. When the hour arrived the International officer arose and very solemnly announced that the new Local had been formed and with many more members than they had anticipated. There was wild applause. He held up his hands to stop this, and announced the hall would be kept open and the officers would be there all night, and longer if necessary, to receive new members, and every member present should be a committee of his own to go out and bring in every car man on the system. To announce to the public of St. Louis, there was a street car strike on. Above all, to use no violence. There never had been, and I do not suppose there ever will be, a scene like

there was enacted that night at 2228 Olive Street. The men wept and hugged one another; they felt like they were entering a new life. The hour was growing late, but no one seemed to notice it; the early comers had no desire to leave, and the late ones were coming by the dozen and by the fifties, all joining. The clerks were swamped with applications and money piled before them. They worked all night and until late Sunday. It took them days to get the members straightened out. By the time the sun came up Sunday morning they had over two thousand members, while we had figured on about two hundred in all. By Sunday night they had most all of the three thousand employees. Very few cars moved that day.

If a German bomb had exploded in the United Railways office it would not have had the disastrous effect caused by learning the truth about what was going on at 2228 Olive Street. They were dazed! Thought there must be some mistake! It couldn't be so! "The audacity of my men doing such a thing—the men that I had allowed to work for me for years—paying them a princely salary of 26 to 32 cents per hour, keeping them on duty only eighteen hours out of twenty-four, in that time drawing ten hours pay! Had a nice club hall, where they could come once a month. Gave them a picnic once a year, and all who attended must lose the day's pay! I have even consented to have my picture taken in a group with some of my men. Petted their babies at our picnic. We have one of the best welfare associations in the United States. Let them put up a deposit on their badge and punch, and never

think of paying them interest on their money! After my doing all this, this is my thanks!"

The old saying, "The more you do the less thanks" was the lament of our "Jeremiah," Richard McCulloch, President of the United Railways Company of St. Louis, the day after the men organized. The humiliation was unbearable. A corporation that had done practically as they pleased with the air of, "If you don't like it, how are you going to help yourself," and now to have someone dictate some of the working conditions.

"We will not give in; we are still a power." I had orders to get all the men I could and put them at different car barns. They were to mix with the car men and find out the sentiment; see if the car men resorted to any violence; report the leaders if they attacked the cars and the crews; and to get the names of those who made the attacks. Thursday the strike was still on. Thursday night the Company was forced to a settlement. The Local got practically everything they asked for. The agreement had to be ratified the next morning at the Local headquarters. That was to be expected, the agreement was accepted and the strike was to be called off at 3 p. m. Friday. This ended one of the greatest "tail-feather-pullings" that a corporation ever received.

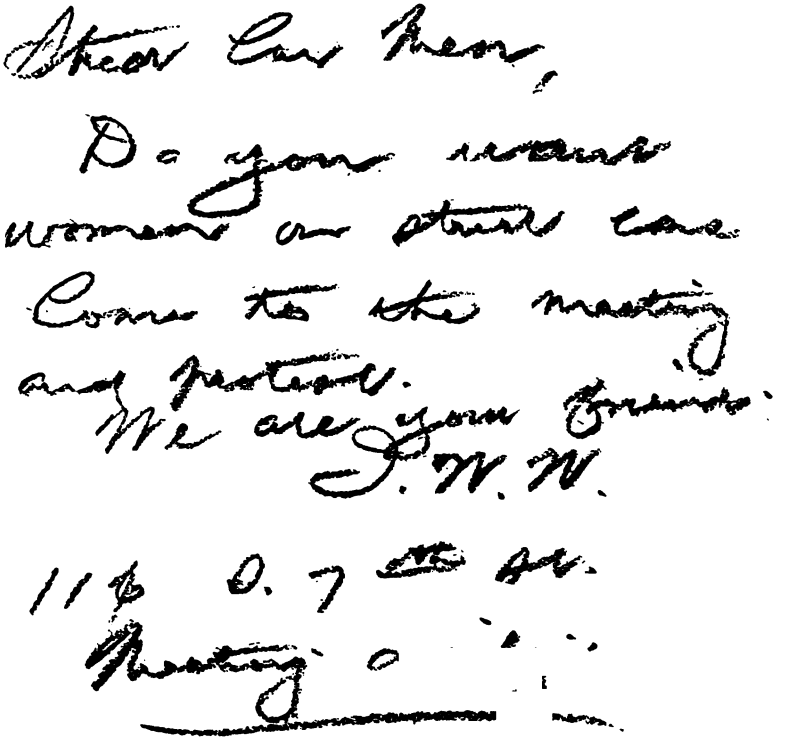
AFTER THE STRIKE

The next morning I visited Cameron's office. His greeting to me was, "Well, we have a Union on our hands." I said, "A week ago you wanted one; don't you want it now?" He said, "No; not the way it was handed to us." Then I recalled to Mr. Cameron's mind what he had said about the ——— bunch of ——— ——— at Detroit that could not organize until he was ready for them. He said, "Yes, and damn it, I still say so!" He said, "Just wait until the war is over, and then you will see how long the Local will last." He was certainly sore on the world that morning. He blamed some of the prominent Chamber of Commerce members for forcing the Company to settle with the strikers, and wished these said members all sorts of bad luck.

I saw him again in a few days. He wanted to get into the good graces of the men; wanted me to have it passed to our inside men to talk it around the sheds that Cameron was the only man of the United Railways Company who was in favor of the Company recognizing the Union from the first conference with the strikers; and if it had not been for him the Company would not have agreed to all of the Union's demands; and to say that his being opposed to the Unions in the past was done at the request of the management, and for our men to say they believed Cameron to be their friend, and all grievances that were brought before him should be settled satisfactorily.

Before the strike was called the Company had a number of circulars and pamphlets printed and distributed in different parts of the city. A great many were distributed in the vicinity where the car men held their meetings. The original copy of these circulars was written at 39th Street and Park Avenue, the offices of the United Railways Company, and a part of them by McCulloch himself. The ones he did not write were either dictated by him or by Cameron. The Company has its own printing shop; however, none of these were printed there; they were printed elsewhere.

The following is a reproduction of one of the copies written in McCulloch's own handwriting on a small piece of office paper, thus:



From the "Post-Dispatch," July 9, 1919:

McCulloch said, when the identity of Jackson became known, on June 17, and the search for him began, that he did not know Jackson, and had no knowledge that he was an employee of the Company. He refused, at that time, to make an inspection of the payroll, in a "Post-Dispatch" reporter's presence.

In this same interview McCulloch said I was a liar if I said he was present at a conference on the referendum petitions.

I do not know if he meant this a lie direct or a "lie circumspect," but I will return the compliment with a retort courteous. The honorable champion of the truth doubtless was unaware that I was still in possession of the above "scrap of paper" for five months prior to this interview. I therefore leave to the reader to judge which of us belongs in the "Ananias Club." In connection with this "scrap of paper," is it possible that he wrote it during one of his Saturday afternoon visits to the United Railways Company's club hall on Grand Avenue?

During this time the Pro-Germans, Socialists, and I. W. W.'s were looked upon with disfavor. McCulloch suggested signing the circulars I. W. W., and said, "We may need someone upon whom to lay this affair before we are through with it." He said as the above three classes were practically the same, we will sign them the I. W. W. So that was the name we used.

The following clippings from some of the daily newspapers will verify some of our propaganda work:

AFTER THE STRIKE

The following was published in the St. Louis "Republic," Sunday, February 3, 1918, the morning after the strike:

The theory that the Pro-German interests instigated the formation of the Unions here and are agitating the strike in order to tie up traffic has been advanced. The fact was that the organization was perfected within a few days and without previous warning and that the big wage demand follows closely on a five per cent increase granted by the Company in November, gives those offering this reason a basis for their contention. Officials of the Company refuse to comment on the possibility of Pro-Germanism playing a part in the situation but stated that an employee had recently been discharged for unpatriotic utterances. Federal officers had been notified of this man's utterances, it was said.

St. Louis Republic, February 3, 1918, as follows:

Women condutors recently put on some of the cars by the Company have been reporting from time to time that they had received threats of harm. One said a passenger had told her she had better have someone take her home and that he asked her why she wasn't at home where she belonged, instead of taking a man's job. The employment of women caused an especially antagonistic feeling among some of the men. The rumor that the Company was anticipating a strike and already had placed with a local labor agency orders for the employing of strike-breakers was denied by McCulloch.

McCulloch made the following statement to a "Republic" reporter for Sunday's paper, February 3, 1918:

Nine out of ten of my men are loyal and will be back on the job at daybreak. They are afraid to take chances of being attacked in the night. It's just as well, as we don't care to have our property injured by destructive troublemakers.

"Globe-Democrat," Monday, February 4, 1918:

I. W. W. HEADQUARTERS RAIDED BY U. S. AGENTS AND THIRTY ARRESTED. SEDITIOUS LITERATURE SIGNED BY OFFICERS AS EVIDENCE. PRISONERS DENIED BAIL

St. Louis police, under the direction of U. S. officers, yesterday afternoon raided the local headquarters of the I. W. W., 116 So. 7th Street, and arrested thirty men because of their activity in agitating trouble among the employees of the United Railways Company. One of the latest efforts was the distributing of literature among employees. One of the pamphlets was printed in red ink and read as follows: "Welcome, United Railway men, to our headquarters. We glory in your independence. The actions of our charter members show what we can do. Talk to any one of them; assert your manhood and attend our meetings daily at the International Workers of the World, Hall, 116 So. 7th Street."

"Globe-Democrat" February 4, 1918:

Richard McCulloch, President and General Manager of the United Railways Company, following a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Company at St. Louis Club, last night, issued a written statement in which he says the strike of the Company employees was started by professional agitators for their own personal profit and that faithful employees had been terrorized into joining the strike movement by the agitators.

(My comment: When McCulloch made the above statement he certainly told the truth, if he calls himself a professional agitator.)

"Globe-Democrat," February 6, 1918: The following

was on the front page of the "Globe" in large type, stating the Company's side of the strike:

Men will be taken back to work today and the Union will be recognized provided it is an employees' organization, not affiliated with car men's Union in other cities. Company will grant demand of wage increase ten cents per hour providing the Missouri Public Service Commission sanctions an increase in fares.

To show how the Company has everybody working for it; just as soon as the Local was in running order, McMorrow and some other local labor men were sent to Jefferson City to intercede with the Public Service Commission to grant the Company an increase in fare. They were granted a six-cent fare. The Company, before the strike, was expecting a seven-cent fare, or a 40 per cent increase, so as to give the men a ten per cent, or possibly fifteen per cent, increase in wages. The result was, the Company received a 20 per cent increase and the men a thirty-five per cent increase. Somebody pulled a "bone" over the strike!

REFERENDUM SCANDAL

March 29, 1918, the Board of Aldermen gave the United Railways Company a 31-year franchise. The Mayor had 20 days after the bill was passed, to sign or veto it. The Company had one year in which to accept or reject it. This was called the Compromise bill; placing a valuation of $60,000,000.00 on the Company's properties; fixing a fare of five cents and disposing of the Mill-tax moneys due the city from the Company. This, the same as the first except for a little camouflage, was jammed through the Board of Aldermen, and signed by the Mayor April 10, 1918.

Following the passage of this bill the Citizens' Referendum League was formed. The League was to circulate petitions and get a total of seven per cent of the legal voters, to force an election on the bill in November. L. H. Proske was made Manager of this League. They opened offices at 810 Chestnut Street, April 22nd, and had thirty days from April 10 to secure two per cent of the registered voters. After the two per cent was passed upon by the election commissioners, the League would have thirty days more to secure the other five per cent.

Before this League was in running order, the United Railways Company was ready for them. Cameron gave me instructions to stop the Referendum by all means; said there were other interests involved and expense was no object. Said the ones back of this League were

a bunch of Socialists and Pro-Germans and what we did to them mattered but little to the better class of citizens. Cameron said to go the limit, as he, as well as some of the city officials, would like to see some of that crowd put out of the way.

The best operatives were assigned to me. Cameron gave me one of his special men, who was competent to do most anything. He could go to a certain part of the city and secure a class of men who would not stop at anything. I detailed several men to interview some of the officials of this League, as I was looking for one of the executive members who could be influenced with a money proposition. Mr. Cameron knew to what secret order Proske belonged, as I had two men working for me who belonged to the same order. Cameron suggested that I send both of them to interview Proske at different times.

Mr. McCulloch had said all the Referendum officials wanted was some money out of him and out of the City officials, and Cameron was anxious to see if we could get Proske on our side. Our men visited him as was arranged and had a long interview with him. Both reported they thought him to be a square man. Cameron did not share this opinion and sent me after him. I employed a man who was an attendant of the building where the League's office was located. By getting this employee we had free access to his private office, which was on the same floor with the League's office, and only a few doors distant. If Proske used the Bell telephone we could hear his conversation. I personally watched

his movements, as Cameron was anxious to get him on our side.

If he went to a restaurant for his meals, I would shadow him there, and possibly sit across the room from him where I could study him, and would do likewise when he would go back and forth from his home to his office on the street cars. I made up my mind it would be useless for me to approach him with our proposition, and reported the same to McCulloch and Cameron. They said if I was satisfied that he would not entertain our proposition that we should proceed otherwise.

The said employee of the building gave us a great deal of information. When a list of these petitions was turned in by one of the circulators, Proske would have this list sworn to before a Notary Public. Proske then would file the petitions and keep them in his office until late in the afternoon. The Cigar Makers' Union officials at 615 Chestnut were friends of Proske. They had a large wall safe in their office. At six o'clock in the evening Mr. Proske would take the petitions that he had received during the day to the Cigar Makers' Union for safe keeping. They were kept there until the day they were to be filed with the Election Commissioner. We were informed the League had the required number of signatures to file the first petitions. In the meantime we had discussed various ways and means to secure the petitions. The office of the Cigar Makers' Union, 615 Chestnut, was on the third floor of an old building. There was no elevator; the stairway led directly to the street. There were only a few tenants.

One of the suggestions was to take the petitions away from Proske on the stairway of this building, the morning he called for them to be filed. Upon due consideration this was found to be impracticable. The men, if they secured the petitions, would be thrown on a congested street, which might cause alarm and prevent their escape. Another proposition was to hold up all the members after they met in Proske's office just before they were to depart for the City Hall to file the petitions. This was abandoned, as the office was in the rear and on the second floor of the building. The men who were to do the job for us were taken through this building at 810 Chestnut St. They said it was too hazardous an undertaking to promise success. The stairway was too narrow and steep for a fast get-away. If they left one of their "gang" to guard the officials while the others made their escape with the petitions, he would be sure to get caught. They thought the officials could reach the street window in the hall of this building before the last member of their "gang" could reach the street and get away a safe distance.

We were informed the League was to file the petitions at 10 a.m., May 9th, 1918. The last suggestion which we adopted and which seemed to promise success, was to take the petitions away from Mr. Proske and his friends on their way from his office to the City Hall, which was a distance of six blocks.

The men were hired and arrangements were made to get a machine from East St. Louis. The machine was to be as near the curb as possible when the League members passed. We had been told there would be five of

them delegated to take the said petitions to the City Hall. At the opportune time the petitions were to be taken away from the League members and thrown into the machine. There would be enough of the Company's men to overcome any resistance the League delegates would offer. The petitions were to be delivered to me at Kingshighway, where I was to pay the men for their services. The evening the arrangements were made the men were given a retainer's fee. The League took snap judgment on us and filed the petitions on the morning of the 8th. We knew nothing about this until the Company was notified by one of the election commissioners that they had been filed. Allow me to add there was one angry outfit at 39th and Park Avenue when they learned the petitions had been filed. Immediately extensive plans were made for the securing of the next petitions. I had the League's Kinloch phone tapped, installed a dictaphone in their office in the following manner: We ran the wire above the molding, through the hall, to the wall of our office, the wires to a roll top desk, had them come up from the back of the desk to the top drawer and holes made for the wires. Had the instruments fastened to the drawer and connected to the wires. In that way we could close the drawer and the instruments were out of sight.

We had the keys to Mr. Proske's desk. Hired the janitor at 615 Chestnut Street where the petitions were kept for safety, and gave him one of our men as an assistant janitor; also made an attractive offer to a man who was in close touch with the League members, who could give us valuable information and be of assistance

to us. He accepted the offer. With all this we thought we were in pretty good shape.

Cameron told me that McCulloch and some of the directors thought one of the St. Louis papers was paying the printing expenses of the Referendum League and wanted me to find out if this were true. That night the contents of Mr. Proske's desk were inspected and there was found an itemized statement for the printing of the petitions from a local print shop. This was taken, along with some other personal papers, and the above articles were sent to Mr. Cameron by special delivery. He later told me that the itemized statement convinced McCulloch that the paper was not backing the Referendum League.

Fate seemed to be against us all the time we were on this Referendum work. The dictaphone which we had installed in Mr. Proske's office was very unsatisfactory. The elevators were noisy. Proske had his back to the instrument when he was at his desk which threw his voice away from the transmitter. During our absence, one Sunday, from our office in this building, Mr. Proske discovered the transmitter of our dictaphone. He traced the wires; they led him to the office; as the office was locked he could go no farther. He disconnected the transmitter and took it up-town to show some friends his discovery. After meeting his friends, they all returned to his office. During Proske's absence our man returned to the League's and his office. The elevator boy told him about Proske's discovery. Our man immediately tore the dictaphone and Kinloch connections out of his desk drawer; took them down in the basement

and hid them behind the furnace. In a short time Mr. Proske and his friends returned to his office intending to locate the dictaphone. As the instruments had been removed from our office, our man made no objections to Proske's request to look through his office. Proske accused our man of having a dictaphone; of course our man denied having one. After a few unprintable words were passed, the League members departed, knowing that someone was interested in what they were doing.

The discovery of the dictaphone did not inconvenience us very much. We watched Proske that much closer and with greater precaution. We began to disregard him as a Union man. As he would come to his office early in the morning and stay late, he certainly did not live up to the eight hour a day agreement. If we wanted to go through his office and see if there were anything new we would have to wait until the early morning hours to do so.

A number of visitors to Proske's office were trailed to find out who they were and what they were doing at his office. On one occasion a man came out of this office with Niles Grant, carrying a bundle which was of good size. He was a stranger to us. The two men went to a saloon at 8th and Market, and in a short time the two parted, the stranger taking a Cherokee car. We thought possibly the League was going to change the place of keeping the petitions and that this party was selected to take them, to throw us off. We shadowed him; he rode to Gravois and Cherokee and walked from there to Grand, and then to a cleaning establishment with the bundle, which contained only clothing.

The United Railways Company was constantly on the alert to know all the details in regard to the progress the League was making.

Proske had no safe in his office. When the petitions were turned in to Mr. Proske by the circulators, he would keep them in his office at 810 Chestnut Street until he had 20 or 30 lists of these petitions. That number would make a good package. He would wrap the petitions in a blank piece of wrapping paper, write his name on the package, and take the package to the safe at 615 Chestnut. These were the required 5 per cent petitions of the registered voters, and the last to be filed.

We had a safe salesman to call on Proske to try and sell him a safe. He would not buy; said he had no use for one. We had secured several new operatives, janitors, and a few expert safe men from Chicago for this work.

The company may have been "over zealous" to secure the petitions. We had some talent in a specific "profession" at this time. The company was determined that the petitions should not be filed this time. The safe men were on our pay roll for some time. I referred elsewhere to getting one of the League members on our staff. He was to give us notice when they were ready to file this second lot of petitions. The orders from the Company were not to take any chances such as we did on the two per cent petitions. The safe was to be opened in one way or another. If the combination could be deciphered, which the Chicago experts felt confident they could do, before they tried it, so much the better. If they were successful in accomplishing the combina-

tion, the night before the petitions were to be filed, we intended opening the safe and substituting blank paper the exact size of the petitions, in the original wrappers.

McCulloch and Cameron thought the League members would not open the packages until they turned them over to the Election Commissioners. When the discovery was made, there would be such consternation and the League members held up to such ridicule, that it would be impossible for them to get another lot signed.

Arrangements were made one night for the Chicago men to try the combination of the safe. They reported they could not open it. McCulloch then said there was only one thing left to do and that was to force an entrance into the safe, and for all preparations to be made accordingly.

One only knew my telephone number; the rest did not know it, or where I lived. I never told them who I was with or revealed anything.

The janitor who had charge of the building where the League was had his own phone. I would call him often but would go to a public phone to talk to him; for safety I would not use my private phone. Our man at the League building had the habit, late at night, of bringing his chair down stairs and sitting on the sidewalk, as his sleeping quarters were there also, and when he would hear the phone ring he would take the elevator up to his office and answer it.

One night after I had retired Mr. Cameron called me and asked for some information about a meeting which had been held that night at the Referendum League. I had no report on it. I told Mr. Cameron I would let him

know in a few minutes. Instead of dressing and going to a public phone I used my own private phone to call our man at his office; after Central had given me the connection and I had waited long enough for him to answer if he were there, I received no response and hung up.

Then my phone rang and Central said, "Is this Olive 1722?" I said it was. The next thing I heard was our man's voice on the wire. I said, "How did you get my number?" He said he was sitting down in front of the building and heard his phone ring; when he got to his door he had trouble with his key and by the time he answered his phone he received no response. Central came in on his line and said the party that called you has hung up; told him to wait a minute and she would try and get the party. When she called my number he had the receiver to his ear, and heard her call Olive 1722. He had asked me a number of times what my number was. I would always give him some evasive answer. When he found out my number, he later tried to get my name from the telephone girl. As my phone was not listed she would not give him any information.

Right here it is pertinent to remark that my connection with the Referendum Scandal was revealed by this telephone girl being accommodating in getting my number for this man that night.

After this man was arrested he told my phone number, and the rest was easy. After the League knew the man in charge of their building was our man, he still gave us information. They still retained their office and never changed any of their locks on their desks. A few nights

before they were to file the petitions, Proske left petitions with over one thousand names in his desk drawer. That was no temptation, as we wanted thousands of names.

We had different men to visit 615 Chestnut Street, the Cigar Makers' headquarters, where the petitions were kept. They would visit there under different pretexts. Some would be looking for a certain Union cigar maker; others would want to buy a good Union cigar store: all who called would have a good excuse. The business of these "gentlemen" was to look the office over, and make mental notes for future use. Personally I have never been in that office. No suspicion was attached to the assistant janitor (United Railways Company man). He had keys to the street door and to this room. One of the Chicago men intended going to Chicago that night to make final arrangements in regard to opening the safe. He wanted to take a look at the room, 615 Chestnut St., Cigar Makers' Union headquarters, before departing. The Union had a meeting this night, he wanted to find out what time the meeting would be over, so he could get in this office. He called the secretary over the phone, told him he was the party who was up to see him a few days ago about buying the store, wanted to know what time he could see him at one of the hotels that evening. The time was set. Our man told the secretary if he should be a few minutes late to wait for him. The secretary waited thirty minutes for our man, and then started home. The time he was waiting at the hotel, our man was looking his office over.

From the information we received, the League should

have sufficient names to file the petitions by the 17th. The Company was getting anxious. When we thought all arrangements were made for the final night, the Chicago men went up in the air, said they knew the United Railways was having the job done; that they wanted so much money to go ahead with the job. This was after I had paid them several hundred dollars. They wanted half of the amount down before they entered the building; the other half before the petitions were removed from the safe. Under no consideration would they take the petitions from the building. If there were no petitions in the safe after opening it they wanted the money just the same. The result was, arrangements were made with other parties. The building was opened for these men by the janitor on Thursday night, June 13th. The men engaged were mercantile safe men, and one had followed this profession for years. They were sent there to open this safe. When they attempted to open the safe the janitor raised an awful halloo—made so much noise about it the men discontinued. The janitor told them to leave their tools in his room and he would see the boss tomorrow; and if he said it was all right for them to open the safe they could open it the next night. I had previously sent money to this janitor. When I saw him the following day, Friday, he claimed he had never received it. The United Railways Company janitor had no influence over him. Accordingly the men left their tools with him and went home. The United Railways janitor claimed the building janitor wanted more money was the reason he objected.

The United Railways janitor was told he should have hit him over the head with something.

The next day all arrangements were made for the wind-up, which was to be at daybreak Saturday morning, June 15th. The League had until Monday, the 17th, to file. They had enough signers, so they decided to file Saturday at 10 a.m. Around six o'clock Saturday morning there was delivered to me on the street by one of the Company's men who was acting janitor at 615 Chestnut Street, a "tow" sack full of something heavy. He said that was the petitions.

Previous arrangements made with McCulloch and Cameron were if we were successful in getting the petitions this time, I was to take them to Cameron's home. McCulloch had told Cameron and myself that we *had* to get the petitions, even if it was necessary to bring the safe to his office and he would open it. He told us we had lost the strike, and if we failed in the petitions we would be hunting a new job. It was all the janitor could do to lift the sack into my car. He got in and we went to Cameron's home. I stopped around the corner from Cameron's residence and went to his front door. Cameron told me to come to the back door. He was in his night clothes. I told him we had the petitions around the corner in my machine. We discussed different ways of how to dispose of them. One was to take them to Jno. L. Miers' house out in the county. I refused. His decision was to take them to the United Railways Company office and burn them, and said he would meet us at the office in twenty minutes. His janitor employee and I drove to Tower Grove Park,

which was near Cameron's home, as we had twenty minutes' time to spare. Cameron lived near the office, and we could drive there in a few minutes. After getting to the park we opened the sack and found a number of packages wrapped, tied and marked "property of Niles Grant and L. H. Proske." On opening the package found we had the Referendum Petitions. We took 9 or 10 packages out of the sack and put them under our feet. In the bottom of the sack were some tools. The janitor said they belonged to the safe men, and he was going to deliver them to the owners. He tied the sack and put it in the back of my car. By that time we started to the United Railways Company office. On leaving Cameron my understanding was he would be waiting in front of the office for us. As I drove up I did not see him. I told the man to get out and see if he was inside; I would drive around the block and come up on the 39th Street side, which I did. As I was nearing the office this time this man signaled me to drive in a blind alley, next to the main building. When I drove in, a large door leading to the main office was open and Cameron was standing there, with a colored man at his back. Cameron said, "Throw them in here." He then passed them to the colored man. When I had thrown the last one to Cameron I said, "What next, Colonel?" He said, "Go and get the fellows out of town." Our man, the janitor, spoke up and told Cameron he wanted some money. Cameron said, "How much do you want?" The fellow said, "Fifty dollars." Cameron told me to give him what he wanted. With that I backed out and took this fellow to Newstead and Easton Avenues, gave

him the fifty dollars and he opened the back of the machine and took the sack of tools. The last I saw of him he was walking north on Newstead with the sack on his back. I suppose he is still going, as the Circuit Attorney might be inquisitive as to his whereabouts and might want him as a star boarder.

I had breakfast, had my car oiled, and filled with gas. It was the 15th, the day I made out my expense account, I attended to that—was preparing for my trip. Had several conversations with Cameron over the phone; wanted to know if everything was lined up all right. Had the chief clerk down to my office, and gave him my expense account, as he knew I intended going home.

The following Tuesday, the 18th, was our pay day. I told him I would not be back for several days, for him to hold my pay until I returned. I have been back for a good many months; the clerk is still holding it. The clerk had a noon edition with the account of the burglary. He said he wished he could get in one of those exciting jobs. Always when I would leave the city, I would give him my address, so he could wire me if I was wanted. The clerk left me about one o'clock. I saw several parties after he left. Had lunch and then started home.

I had made arrangements weeks in advance to join my brothers and sisters at a family reunion at my father's home in southwest Missouri. I being the nearest to my home was to join them at their opportune time. The final arrangements were made for us all to meet at the week end on or about the middle of June, 1918. I have letters and telegrams to show that the rest of the

family would arrive anywhere from June 12th to the 15th. My intentions were to leave St. Louis early in the morning of June 14th, in my machine. I was using a touring car at that time; had an understanding with the agent of the car that I was to exchange it for a roadster when there was one available. I was notified late in the evening of June 13th, that if I would bring my car to the shop the next morning they would exchange it for a roadster. At the prospect of getting the roadster, I postponed my trip until Saturday the 15th. I left St. Louis at 2:30 p.m., drove to Jefferson City and stayed over night there. Next morning I purchased the Sunday editions of the St. Louis papers and saw the display headlines about the Referendum burglary. I read it, of course, with interest. When I saw they had arrested the men who had opened the safe, I felt a little uneasy, but as the Company had always done as they pleased about such things, I felt sure they would take care of the men who were implicated. Up to that time the Company had been as true as could be, and I treated it as an unfortunate incident. I thought so lightly of the affair that it did not bother my drive from Jefferson City home, my only thoughts at that time being to get home, where I knew a good big dinner would be waiting for me. Little did I think that I should be classed as a burglar and a fugitive from justice through the trickery and underhanded methods of the United Railways Company of St. Louis: Richard McCulloch, president, son-in-law of John I. Beggs, and Bruce Cameron, Colonel on the Governor's Staff, Superintendent of Transportation. To these men I had devoted twelve years of my life.

We received the St. Louis papers at home late Monday evening, and on the front page of the "Globe-Democrat," June 17, 1918, was the following:

McCULLOCH DENIES UNITED RAILWAY COMPANY IS CONNECTED WITH THE REFERENDUM

Pres. McCulloch, of the United Railways Company, issued the following statement yesterday:

> In fairness to the officers and employees of the United Railways Company, the following statement should be made:

The inference may be drawn from the news account of the alleged theft of Referendum Petitions that some employee of the Railways Company is concerned therein. I want to state emphatically that I know nothing of this alleged theft and that I would not countenance the connection of any employee of the United Railways Company with such an attempt. We are sensible enough to know that any suspicion that the Railways Company was concerned in this affair would only injure the Railways Company and would create sympathy for those engaged in a belated effort to procure the necessary signatures to the Referendum Petitions.

I had told my homefolks about the Referendum deal. They had been very much opposed for years to my being the Company's Special Agent; they thought them unscrupulous. They had formed their opinion from the daily papers.

I had made arrangements to resign the following September. As soon as my father saw what McCulloch said he advised me to return to St. Louis at once, said it did not look like McCulloch was going to take care of

me. On his suggestion I started late at night for Jefferson City, intending to leave my car there and take the early morning train for St. Louis. After traveling a few miles from home I stopped at a toll bridge, and was informed that my sister wanted me on the telephone. She informed me, since leaving a telegram had been received for me, which read as follows: "Meet claim agent in Crocker 2 p.m. Tuesday. Signed Ed."

As this was Monday night and Crocker was near my home and almost in the opposite direction from Jefferson City, she asked me if I was coming back. I told her "No." She insisted and I informed her if the claim agent wanted to see me, he could come to Jefferson City as easy as to Crocker. If I went on and found it necessary, could be in St. Louis by morning. Arrived in Jefferson City near midnight; called Cameron up at his home. He told me they had nothing on me but had my description, and best for me not to come back for a few days. Said the claim agent would not come to Jefferson City, and asked if I had my car. I told him I had it. He said for me to go to the capital of the adjoining State and call him up from there. Also told me not to communicate with anyone. I spent the rest of the night in Jefferson City. From the St. Louis papers next morning, Tuesday, it appeared the excitement was dying down, so I left and proceded leisurely to Mexico, Mo., turned east and crossed the Mississippi river at Louisiana, Mo. From there drove to Jacksonville, Ill., where I spent Tuesday night.

Wednesday morning I called up a friend in St. Louis and he announced that the big bubble had burst, and

the "mystery man" in the Referendum had been discovered. He was the Special Agent of the United Railways Company, Julius C. Jackson.

After I left Jacksonville, Ill., I went directly to Springfield, Ill., where I called up my St. Louis friend again and asked him to make an appointment with Cameron, that I would call him by phone that evening at 5:30. In the meantime I was trying to decide what was best for me to do, as my faith was as strong as ever in the United Railways Company, especially in Mr. Cameron, whom I had always thought a thoroughbred.

I called him at the appointed time, and he told me to leave my car there and take the train for Chicago that night; go to the Morrison Hotel and register as W. B. Wilson; a representative would call on me there and give me instructions. I requested him to send me some money. His answer was, "Don't talk about that: keep a stiff upper lip and communicate with no one."

The Chicago & Alton railroad had a sleeper on the sidetrack for the accommodation of the Springfield patrons. Retiring early, I arrived in Chicago about 7 o'clock Thursday, June 20th. I immediately got a friend to shadow me until further notice. Went to the Morrison Hotel and registered; had breakfast, and after returning to the lobby of the hotel, W. B. Wilson was paged. When I got to the telephone booth the operator was unable to connect me with the calling party—the party had hung up. As I was leaving the booth, up walked Jim Brady, one of the claim agents for the United Railways Company, whom I had never met to talk with, but had many times shadowed at the request of McCulloch and Cam-

eron. He had been with the company for years. It was about 8 o'clock when he met me. After a few minutes' conversation he suggested taking a walk. He seemed to be watching everyone. I believe if someone had slapped him on the back he would have collapsed.

My friend was on the opposite side of the street. We went down to the Lake front; took a seat. Brady picked out some man he thought was watching us. We changed seats three or four times. My friend was near me all the time but Brady never saw him. Brady was full and running over about the Referendum Scandal; said I was the key to the situation, and if I told what I knew, Dick McCulloch, Bruce Cameron, and some of the directors would go to the penitentiary as sure as the sun was shining. He remarked everyone connected with the United Railways Company was scared nearly to death. If I would stay away, in a short time everything would blow over. He did not think there would be any indictments returned against any of the Company officials, and the parties who were already indicted would soon be dismissed, as the Company was in close touch with the Circuit Attorney.

Brady said everyone in St. Louis was talking about the burglary; also said that McCulloch had a personal friend in Minneapolis who was very prominent. They thought it advisable to go there until the excitement died down. They told the truth about this Minneapolis friend, as he is one of the leading men of the Northwest.

Brady pulled a package out of his coat pocket and handed it to me. I started to open it. He got all excited and said, "Don't you see that fellow watching us?

Don't open it now; wait a while: It is some money McCulloch sent you for your expenses." I asked him how much it was. He said, "Five hundred dollars." I then asked why he did not send all that he owed me. Brady said McCulloch had made arrangements with this Minneapolis friend to pay me all that was coming to me, and to take care of me financially as well as to render any other assistance that I might need. I could also get my mail through him.

I told Brady to turn his back to the man he thought was watching us, as I wanted to count the money. There were twenty-five twenty-dollar bills. Brady said Cameron had sent a special request for me to sit flat in the saddle, as everything would be all right shortly. McCulloch would have my personal belongings attended to in an indirect way; have my machine brought from Springfield and turn it over to my friend. I gave him my key and claim check for the garage in Springfield; gave him my key to my safety deposit box, not knowing it had been broken into. Brady said he would visit my parents and explain the conditions to them. He talked just as I always expected the Compnay to do, in case we would get into a jam of this kind, and I had no reason not to believe that everything would be carried out just as Brady had promised.

He was under the impression that a train left for Minneapolis at 10:30 a.m. We took a taxi and went to the station and found the next train left at 6 p.m. He wanted to take the noon train back to St. Louis. It was now half past ten. We walked around until train time.

In the afternoon I wrote a letter home and sent it to Brady as arranged. Started to Minneapolis at six o'clock; arrived there at eight o'clock the next morning which was Friday. Made the rounds of the hotels and found one where several hundred soldiers were quartered. I decided that would be a good place to keep from getting lonesome, so I registered there as W. B. Wilson.

In the afternoon I went to the office of McCulloch's friend and was informed that he was in Washington, D. C. I was sent to his private secretary. I told him I was sent to his office by McCulloch, and asked him if they had received any communication from him in regard to me. He said he had not, and if any had been received at that office he would know of it. I was treated very cordially, as McCulloch and Cameron were their friends. I told him we were having "a hell of a time" in St. Louis, and as I was wanted before the Grand Jury, McCulloch thought it best for me to keep out of the way for a while. He told me they had the same trouble at times, and anything they could do for me they would be only too glad to do. I told him my mail would come through his office. That was satisfactory. As Brady had told me this man was a personal friend of McCulloch's I did not feel uneasy because his secretary had heard nothing about my visit. I thought by Monday I would have a letter.

Before leaving the office I told them I would call them up the following day, which was Saturday, and see if any word had come. I did so, and there was nothing for me. Monday afternoon Billy Sunday was to give a lecture. The auditorium where he was to speak was

near this friend's office, and as I intended going I decided to call at the office on my way. When I called at the office one of the clerks told me the secretary was out and would return at four o'clock, and also informed me that the secretary had a letter for me and wanted to see me. I went back at four o'clock and he told me some little fellow had been looking for me all day. His description fit Brady. Said he had been sitting on the front steps only a few minutes previous. With that he looked out of the window and he was gone. He then handed me a letter marked "Special Delivery," from one of the local hotels. The mailing stamp was marked "8 a.m. Minneapolis." It was from Brady, wanting me to meet him at his hotel. I phoned the hotel and was told Brady was out. I left word that I would call at 4:30 p.m. Brady was registered by his right name and from St. Louis. I immediately went to the hotel. Brady returned at five o'clock. After greeting one another we retired to his room. I had not seen a St. Louis paper since Tuesday morning, the 18th, and had no word since I had seen Brady in Chicago on Thursday. I asked him how everything was in St. Louis. His answer was, "It's hell." Then he stated that McCulloch, Beggs, Cameron, and some of the directors were actually scared to death. They expected to be indicted. Dick McCulloch had some friends on the jury and that might save them.

Brady then informed me I was indicted. I asked him if McCulloch had so many friends on the jury, why was I indicted? Brady said someone had to be indicted to satisfy the public and it was better for me to be than some of the officials. Said McCulloch felt safe if I were

indicted, as he knew it would keep me away until the indignation died down. It would be only a short time until everything would be normal. Cameron is a Colonel on the Governor's staff and the Circuit Attorney is their man. He reminded me of a family connection of mine who held a State office. He said the St. Louis combination might be anxious to embarrass this official and it could be accomplished through my conviction. As Brady was saying some things that were true, I began to think that the Circuit Attorney's office and the United Railways Company had picked me for their victim.

Brady gave me some data as to how they connected me with the case. Had taken my trunk and my personal belongings to the police station. The bank had refused to open my safety deposit box, so the police broke it open. In it they found my pay envelopes for months back, with the United Railways stamp on them and the amount I drew marked on them; my expense book and paper bands representing five hundred dollars in bills with United Railways stamp. Furthermore, they found money, Liberty Bonds, and many other personal belongings. There was evidence enough to convict everyone connected with the United Railways Company. McCulloch said he was the luckiest man in the world to have friends in the right place at the right time, and said he would like for me to be sent to prison for keeping all of the incriminating evidence that was found in my trunks and bank against the United Railways Company. He said with all of this it would be hard to convince the public that I was not connected with the Company. Called me a damn fool. Brady asked me why I kept it. I told

him the principal reason was for just such an emergency as confronted me now.

All this time Brady was using his well-known soothing talk. He proceeded to tell me that I should have a lawyer to represent my interests in St. Louis; said under the present conditions the Company could not appear in any way, as they had said they knew nothing about this Jackson. He suggested that I write an order to a certain lawyer in St. Louis, giving him authority to get my automobile, contents of my safety deposit box, personal belongings, and attending to my affairs. He pulled a blank check from his pocket on the same bank with which I had my checking account, and advised me to sign it and let my lawyer draw my money. With this he handed me the letters I had sent to him as per agreement to deliver to my homefolks and friends; also the check and key to my machine. I said, "Brady, this evidently means that the Company intends to make good their assertion that they do not know me." He said that was exactly what they intended doing if I did not do as they said. "So they are not going to pay me what they owe me?" "No," said he, "not until everything is settled in regard to the indictments." "Don't they intend to pay my expenses and salary while I am incognito for the Company?" He said, "No! If you need money you can go to the wheat fields and work for it." "So that's the way the Company feels toward me now! And they sent you here to get the rest of my belongings, so I would not have a thing to defend myself with!" He said, "Well, not exactly that way; but as long as you are indicted, it would be best to turn your

possessions over to their lawyer." My evil Nemesis, Brady, also informed me that he did not think I was enough of a fool to come back, as I was sure to be convicted. I informed him that someone else might make the trip to Jefferson City with me if I was convicted! Then he politely informed me that the Company had used their influence to have me indicted, as it was better for me to go to the penitentiary than McCulloch, Cameron, or some of the directors; and if I should be arrested, for me to keep my mouth shut and there should be bond provided for me. He further said that public sentiment was so strong against the Company that the Circuit Attorney would be compelled to convict someone, and if it were I the Company would soon have me released, and would not forget me; also the public would lose all interest if I were convicted, whereas, if some of the officials were convicted, they should be disgraced for life.

Brady saw that I was not very much enthused over his marvelous suggestions and said I was very inappreciative of my former employers. The reader can never appreciate my feelings unless he has been placed in a similar position. A fugitive from justice, and branded as a burglar; tricked by the President and General Manager of the United Railways Company, Richard McCulloch, son-in-law of John I. Beggs of the North American Company, to which the United Railways Company is a subsidiary! I was about to be swallowed up by a dangerous whirlpool; but the years of training I had received to listen and let the other fellow talk, gave me an efficient pilot, and he saved me now.

If I had expressed to Brady what was in my mind, he would have returned to St. Louis, and the United Railways would have had everything working so smoothly they would not have even hesitated until I were landed in Jefferson City. It was worth my years of experience, to know the tactics of this unscrupulous set of men for just those few minutes. I knew Brady was only their representative, but if he were successful he should be the man of the hour with the Company.

When I recovered my second breath I realized that I was up against something real. My mind was made up, but I meekly informed Brady that the Company need have no fear; that I would not return to St. Louis voluntarily. At the present time I would do nothing about my personal belongings. I could communicate with some friends and have them get my machine and attend to my little affairs. Brady shook hands with me, and said that I was now talking like a human being; got very friendly, even called me by my given name, and offered to buy me an ice cream soda. I think his train left about 10:30 p.m. Before leaving he informed me the Company would be notified by the police department if I were to be brought back. He said Lawrence McDaniel, Circuit Attorney, might want to make a showing, and get contrary and have me arrested by some out of town officers. He said the Governor of the State had been appealed to, to offer a reward for my arrest, and he made some excuse; and that the police department had acted according to the Company's directions.

I was very weary of his talk. Time was dragging and I was anxious for him to get away. I saw him to the

station. He asked me how long I would be in Minneapolis. I told him that my week would be up Friday at the hotel, and possibly I would leave then. He said for me to let him know, from time to time, of my whereabouts, as the Company might want to communicate with me. I assured him again that I would stay away, and I am satisfied that he left Minneapolis confident that I would not return to St. Louis voluntarily, and suppose he reported to McCulloch accordingly.

When Brady told me of the stand the United Railways Company had taken in regard to me, I made up my mind to return to St. Louis and defend myself for the part I had taken in the Referendum burglary. That was my intention until I met my attorney in Chicago a week later. After leaving Brady at the station I returned to my hotel; spent the rest of the night writing to friends in St. Louis; giving them instructions to get me the best law firm in St. Louis; arrange bail for me, and not to communicate with me. I sent all my mail to a friend whom I knew to be true blue; instructed him to distribute it to the respective persons, and not to divulge the postmark. I wrote my friends each day. Later in the week I informed them that the following Tuesday evening between 9 and 9:30 I would call them over long distance. I told them where to be at that time; also told them I would be nearer St. Louis than I was then.

The following Saturday I sent a power of attorney to a friend in St. Louis. It was received on Monday. In this letter I said: "Am leaving this city tomorrow morning (Sunday). Don't forget the call Tuesday."

When the power of attorney was received they knew where I was. Contrary to my instructions, so soon as they knew I was in St. Paul and Minneapolis they sent one of their attorneys to see me.

I left Minneapolis Sunday morning, June 30th, for Milwaukee, remaining there until Tuesday afternoon, July 2nd; then departing for Chicago and arriving there at 6 p.m. I registered at the Great Northern. At nine o'clock I placed my call to St. Louis from the La Salle Hotel according to the previous appointment, in a few minutes I was connected with my party in St. Louis. I was informed that my instructions had been carried out as I requested. I had secured one of the best law firms in St. Louis. One of the firm had been sent to St. Paul as soon as they received my power of attorney and was there waiting to hear from me. As I was in Chicago, another partner of this law firm would start immediately to see me; and would have breakfast with me the following morning. They assured me that everything was in my favor. I suggested that while his representative was in Minneapolis, he go to a certain hotel where Jim Brady had registered, and have a photograph of the register taken, with his name as the Company might claim he was never in Minneapolis. The representative in Minneapolis had some trouble in getting this photograph, but finally succeeded.

Upon meeting my attorney in Chicago, I related the whole affair to him just as it transpired, as he was not familiar with any part of it except what he had seen in the papers. Knowing him as he is, his honesty and integrity, his thorough knowledge of law, and having the

utmost confidence in him, I followed the course which he advised and am very happy to say that I have nothing to regret. He informed me that some friends of mine had been called before the Grand Jury, and that the Circuit Attorney evidently had not gotten what he wanted, so he made the proposition to them that if I would come back as State witness I should not be prosecuted. After telling me this, he looked me in the eye and said, "Jackson, don't be a tool for that unscrupulous bunch at 39th Street any longer. I may clear you, but don't risk going to the penitentiary for anyone when they have deserted you, and in fact, tried to throw all the blame on you." I demurred. He said I was the one to be satisfied, but advised me to talk to Lawrence McDaniel, the Circuit Attorney, as that proposition had been put up to my friends by the Circuit Attorney himself, and that I need have no fear but what he was a man of his word, and one of the grandest men that I should ever have the pleasure of meeting. I could return to St. Louis a free man.

For the solution of a precarious predicament into which my frail bark was about to drift, I am indebted to the wise counsel of my learned advocate and friend.

I will mention one instance. Some time after my return to St. Louis, one of Cameron's friends remarked to my attorney that Bruce Cameron was very angry at him. My attorney asked him why. The friend answered, "Because Cameron thought you should have tipped it off to him that Jackson had retained your firm as his council and that he was coming back to St. Louis." My attorney responded to this that it made no difference

to him what Cameron thought; he had been engaged to look after Jackson's affairs, and that was all he was interested in.

So arrangements were made for Circuit Attorney McDaniel to come to Chicago on the morning of July 4th. The three of us met by appointment and I told McDaniel all I knew, and he assured me of his confidence in my statement, and said that I was the connecting link to the real culprits, who were clothed as United Railways Officials. After satisfactory arrangements were made, I suggested getting several witnesses for the Grand Jury, who were employees of the United Railways Company, and who could testify to my connection with them. I also suggested to the Circuit Attorney what course to pursue in order to get these men before they arrived at the United Railways office the morning of my return. My suggestion was carried out, and the men were waiting at the Circuit Attorney's office when I arrived.

The night of July 4th, 1918, Mr. McDaniel, in company with my attorney and myself, departed for St. Louis, arriving on the morning of the 5th. We repaired to the office of the Circuit Attorney, where I met a number of my friends, also a few reporters. Had the pleasure of meeting the chief clerk of the United Railways Company. I always considered him my friend. During my years with the Company, I was indebted to him for many favors, and I regretted being compelled to draw him into this mess.

McCulloch had denied that I was connected with the Company. Under these conditions I suggested hav-

ing this clerk summoned. It was imperative to have him taken to the office of the Circuit Attorney on the morning of my return from Chicago, while he was on the way from his home to the United Railway Company's office, and without the knowledge of his family or the Company. If he had been permitted to go to his office, and McCulloch had found out I was in the city, he would have resorted to every means to keep him away from the Grand Jury.

McCulloch and Cameron knew that he was at my office the noon after this Referendum deal was pulled off; that he had received my expense account in person June 15th; also that the clerk took the dictaphone from my place. This clerk had been with the Company for years—started as a messenger. McCulloch knew if he were called before the Grand Jury he would tell the truth. My object in wanting him summoned was to corroborate the statements I made to the Circuit Attorney in regard to my connection with the Company, and intended making to the Grand Jury.

I was called before the Grand Jury at 11 a.m.

I have had many assignments from the United Railways Company, and have had my failures as well as my successes. The few I have mentioned in this episode can be verified. Evidently the Company sees its mistake in not staying by me, as Mr. Cameron is receiving such attention from the legal talent and political machine that it entails an expense which will require an extra penny from every street car patron in St. Louis for time to come.

When the link above me is broken, so that other "in-

stances" can be verified, there will be a certain class of "gentlemen" found leaving the city of St. Louis who will not be detained for the want of the drawing room on the Limited, but be thankful for the use of a "side door Pullman" or an "Irish Local."

The chariot of state of the United Railways Company, on important occasions like this, is drawn by two dapper Missouri mules. The one on the off side is called Dick; the one on the near side is styled Bruce. Dick and Bruce in harness work well together. When they are turned loose for a spectacular escapade, with tails flying, they kick up such a dust everything and everybody is invisible. And when they emerge, Phoenix like, they remain unblemished and shining, all unmindful of Julius Caesar, who lay mangled under their hoofs.

When the excitement was over Jackson was sitting in his Morris at home, safe and sound, only grieving over the true adage: "Put not your trust in princes, neither in princes of finance, nor in such other cudgeon of adventuresome United Railways Company officials."

NEWSPAPER COMMENTS

The following are a few excerpts taken from the daily papers of the respective dates. Anyone who wishes to do so can find many more similar ones by searching the files in any of the newspaper offices.

The "Republic," July 6, 1918:

INDICTMENTS OF HIGHER UPS

TESTIMONY OF J. C. JACKSON AND EDWARD CORLEY, CONFIDENTIAL CLERK OF SUPT. CAMERON, PROVES MISSING LINK IN INVESTIGATION OF THE GRAND JURY

With the appearance yesterday before the Grand Jury of Julius Caesar Jackson, who made a full and, it is believed by the prosecuting authorities, truthful statement as to his connection with the theft of the United Railways referendum petitions, the strange and mysterious case took on new proportions.

The fact that Jackson was taken before the Grand Jury and gave his evidence, despite the fact he is under indictment, is taken to mean he will not be prosecuted, and it is also said that action would not have been taken had not Circuit Attorney McDaniel been convinced the evidence would lead to the "men higher up," who employed Jackson.

Announcement is expected early next week, when, if the Grand Jury can complete its investigation, an indictment, or indictments, will be voted, if the evidence now relied on by the Circuit Attorney can be presented.

CAMERON'S CLERK BEFORE JURY

Yesterday the name of Bruce Cameron, superintend-

ent of transportation, one of the most active officials of the company, was brought into the investigation.

Cameron's confidential clerk, Edward Corley, went before the inquisitorial body and gave testimony that he had had dealings with Jackson and had paid certain sums of money to the man who confesses he employed the men who actually blew the safe and stole the petitions.

Corley told the jury the name of the man who gave him the money, and told what this man told him at the time he received the money. Circuit Attorney McDaniel would not say for publication what Corley did testify to, but he said he was convinced he told the truth.

The interest that had been aroused in St. Louis by this crime, the boldest stroke yet attempted to thwart the will of the people, and to prevent an expression of the voters on an ordinance vitally affecting the city's welfare, had waned after the indictment of Jackson and his flight from the city.

MAKES CONFESSION TO M'DANIEL

Yesterday, when it was known that Jackson had surrendered himself, and had made a voluntary statement to Circuit Attorney McDaniel, who went to Chicago to hear the confession, interest was aroused to a higher pitch than ever.

The jury, which seldom begins its session until 2 p.m., was yesterday convened at 11 o'clock. Jackson, debonair and confident, entered the room immediately and remained under the grill for four hours without intermission.

Before going into the chamber he announced to one of the detectives who had been on his trail that he would not mind going to the Penitentiary for his sweetheart or his mother, but he would not go to prison for the United Railways, whose wishes he executed, if by

making a clean breast of the entire transaction would save him.

PAID $2,600 FOR JOB

Much of the detail of his testimony is known only to the members of the jury and the prosecuting officials. It was learned, however, he told he had been paid $2,600 for robbing the safe in the headquarters of the Cigarmakers' Union, 615 Chestnut Street, of the referendum petitions.

He had not proceeded far with his testimony when detectives arrested Corley, and he was zealously guarded by Detective Sergeants King and Kirk until he was conducted to the juryroom.

Various sums of money, Jackson testified, were paid to him through Corley. Jackson told of his many years' employment with the United Railways Company as a special agent, and related all of the details of his work in connection with the safe robbery.

TRIES TO BALK PHOTOGRAPHERS

When Jackson left the Grand Jury room the jaunty bearing which characterized him as he entered the Municipal Courts building had deserted him. He was immaculately clad in a neat-fitting and stylishly tailored brownish gray suit. His linen was scrupulously clean, and a Panama hat sat slightly back on his head.

McDaniel went to Chicago Thursday, and the conference, attended by Jackson's lawyer, resulted in Jackson's voluntary return and his decision to turn State's witness.

INDICTMENTS EXPECTED MONDAY

"What did Corley testify to?" was a question that was fired at McDaniel by a reporter.

"He told the truth," said McDaniel with a grim smile, that discouraged further conversation.

After Corley had given his testimony McDaniel re-entered the room and was closeted with the jury for nearly half an hour. Then he and the stenographer retired.

JACKSON'S DISCLOSURES VITAL

It was pointed out that Jackson would scarcely have been granted an immunity bath had not the information he gave been of grave importance, and fixing the crime on someone "higher up." That there may be other officials still higher up was the only construction that could be placed on McDaniel's statement that the investigation would not cease until the fountain source was reached.

That Jackson's connection with the United Railways was bona-fide was demonstrated to the Circuit Attorney's satisfaction by an incident that occurred on the way to the Municipal Courts building. McDaniel started to pay the fare, but Jackson waved him aside and produced his badge, that the conductor honored without question.

St. Louis "Times," July 6, 1918:

"MYSTERY MAN" NAMES U. R. OFFICIAL, MCDANIEL SAYS, IN STORY OF HIS FLIGHT

Circuit Attorney Lawrence McDaniel today gave out for the first time what he says is the connecting link between the officialdom of the United Railways Company and events incident to the theft of the referendum petitions on June 15 from the offices of the Cigar Makers' Union, 623 Chestnut Street.

The "link" is contained in what McDaniel asserts is a true statement of a confession made to him by Julius C. Jackson of 1007a Pine Street, for nine years confidential agent of the street car company.

SENT HIM $500

In this confession, as given out by McDaniel, Jackson, who admits directing the cracking of the safe in which the petitions were kept, alleges that Bruce Cameron, superintendent of transportation of the United Railways Company, sent $500 to him to the Hotel Morrison, Chicago, on June 18.

This was three days after the petition theft. The allegation is that the $500 was for Jackson to stay away from St. Louis.

He alleges, McDaniels says, that the transmission of the money, together with "advice" from Cameron, was made by James Brady, claim agent for the United Railways Company.

REFUSES TO BE THE "GOAT"

Jackson went before the Grand Jury yesterday, after having been brought back to St. Louis from Chicago by McDaniel. He made the confession which McDaniel gave out today, at a conference in Chicago on July 4, in the presence of his attorney, Lon O. Hocker, and McDaniel.

The point is brought out by McDaniel that Jackson refused to "lay down" or "be the goat for the United Railways Company."

It is also brought out by McDaniel that Jackson decided to confess his part in the robbery and give the names of others after Brady, in a conference in Minneapolis, told him that the company could give him no more money at this time, and that it was up to him to be "the goat."

In giving out the confession McDaniel said:

"Jackson told me that on June 18 he telephoned to Bruce Cameron, transportation superintendent of the United Railways, and that Cameron told him to go to Chicago and register at the Morrison Hotel as W. B. Wilson, and Cameron would send a man to see him there.

TELLS OF GETTING MONEY

"He did this, he said, and on June 19 James Brady, a claim agent for United Railways, visited him at the Morrison and gave him $500, advising him to lay low and to go to the office of a street railway president in Minneapolis, where he would receive a letter not later than June 22.

"Jackson told me he followed these instructions, but no letter came. Brady, he said, arrived in Minneapolis and registered at the Nicolet Hotel under his own name, being assigned to room 122. I have a photograph of the register page, showing his name.

"According to Jackson's statement to me, Brady told him he had been indicted and advised him to get away, but said it would be better for Jackson to go to the penitentiary than for United Railways officials to go to the penitentiary.

"Jackson quoted Brady as saying to him: 'It looks as though you have got to be the goat.' Jackson said he replied, 'I will not be the goat for anybody.' "

CALLED HIS ATTORNEY

McDaniel said that Jackson said this regarding the visit of Brady to Minneapolis:

"Then I decided that I wouldn't be the goat and Hocker sent Ernest Green, an associate of his, to Minneapolis to see me. I had gone to Chicago in the meantime, Hocker having gone there to meet me there.

"I suggested that a photographic record of the hotel register in Minneapolis be made to show that Brady had been to see me. It was done. It shows, I understand, that Brady registered at the Nicollet Hotel on June 22 and was assigned to room 122.

"Meanwhile I had met and talked with Hocker at the Morrison Hotel in Chicago."

RECORD OF REGISTER

McDaniel at this point showed a photographic record of the signature of Brady to the Minneapolis hotel register, which he said he had for the prosecution.

McDaniel says Jackson alleges that during one point in the conferences between Brady and Jackson the former told Jackson that he could "lay low temporarily" and that it would be all right later, as "McDaniel is fixed."

It was McDaniel, however, who traced Jackson and arranged for his confession.

M'CULLOCH'S STATEMENT

Although McDaniel asserted yesterday that he was positive in his belief that the story told by Jackson, in which he alleged that altogether he received the sum of $2600 from the United Railways to "do the job," was true, General Manager Richard McCulloch repeated his former statement that the whole matter was a mystery to him and that the company knew absolutely nothing of the whole affair.

In a statement issued several days ago McCulloch declared that if the robbery was carried out in behalf of the United Railways it was done without the official sanction or knowledge of the management or directors of the company.

Circuit Attorney McDaniel, in discussing the matter, expressed himself as being of the opinion that the orders under which Jackson acted in performing this "coup" could not have come from anyone excepting a man in high authority.

Mr. Cameron was seen at his office today by a Times reporter, but refused to make any statement further than that he knew "nothing about it."

President McCulloch likewise refused to make any statement.

The following is from the "Times," July 9, 1918:

DIRECTORS OF THE UNITED RAILWAYS COMPANY WILL GO INTO SESSION THIS P. M.

Directors of the United Railways Company will go into session this afternoon at 4 p. m. in the offices of the company, Park and Vandeventer Avenues, for the purpose of taking up the situation developed by the indictment of Superintendent of Transportation Bruce Cam-

eron and the story told today to the Circuit Attorney and the Grand Jury by James Brady, claim agent for the company.

John I. Beggs, director of the North American Company, is here from Milwaukee to attend the meeting. The North American Company is the parent company to the United Railways Company, and Beggs is the father-in-law of Richard McCulloch, president of the United Railways Company.

It is rumored that the entire Board of Directors may cause a change in the management of the operation of the company as a result of the disclosures in the investigation of the theft of the referendum petitions, but a number of the directors are said to consider the incident a case of overzealousness. This, at least, is the view of Beggs in the Cameron incident.

CALLS IT OVERZEALOUS

Mr. Beggs, when asked for a statement today, said: "It was a misdirected effort on the part of Jackson and on the part of other people as well. It is an example of loyalty carried into overzealous action."

Beggs was asked if Jackson was paid $15,000 to $20,000 a year as salary and expenses for the work done by him.

"Absolutely not," was the reply. "He was paid so much per day, just as all other employees are paid, and his expenses were also paid. Such statements are without foundation."

Asked if Bruce Cameron would be removed from active duty during the trial of the indictment against him, Mr. Beggs said this matter would be decided by the Board of Directors. "It is too large a question to be answered by one person," he continued. "The Board of Directors will make a rigid investigation."

DUTIES WERE VARIED

Beggs stated Jackson was an employe of many years' standing, called a special agent. Asked if Jackson's du-

ties were solely to prevent the unionization of conductors and motormen, he answered: "No; his duties were to look into all details of the business of the company."

Beggs said the theft of the petitions and the accusations against Cameron would be discussed at the meeting. As to Cameron he said:

"He has been very faithful—exceedingly faithful—so much so that he never measured his service in hours. In view of this, every consideration will be given him by the board.

"It is possible that Cameron was misled by the overzealousness of a subordinate and that he did not fully understand the lengths to which that zealousness would be carried, or what would be done. The board will endeavor to treat him with exact justice.

"Whether Cameron would be suspended as superintendent was a matter which must rest with the board," Beggs said.

M'CULLOCH DENIES IT

President McCulloch, at the company's office today, reiterated his assertions that he knew nothing of the plot to steal the referendum petitions or to prevent them from being filed.

With reference to the statement given out by Circuit Attorney McDaniel that Jackson had informed him that McCulloch was present at one of Jackson's conferences with Cameron, McCulloch said: "If Jackson made that statement, he is a liar."

McCulloch said when the identity of Jackson became known on June 17 and the search for him began, that he did not know Jackson and had no knowledge that he was an employee of the company.

From the St. Louis "Times," July 10, 1918:

OVERZEALOUSNESS, THOU ART A JEWEL

Mr. Beggs, large stockholder and director of the U. R., excuses any guilt of any official or employe of the

company in pilfering the referendum petitions on the grounds of "overzealousness."

We had come to look upon Mr. Beggs as anything but of poetic or sentimental turn of mind. That illusion is dispelled. Also we know now that the two-gun gent who relieved us of a watch, all our cash and tie pin, on a dark night last winter, must have been moved by no other motive than overzealousness. Just as soon as the telephone connection can be made to Jefferson City we are going to ask the Governor to pardon him, for if there is anything to be admired in a man it is zealousness.

It is a trait too often lacking in those entrusted with both public and private service.

The following is from the "Times," July 9, 1918:

U. R. AGENT "CAME CLEAN" M'DANIEL SAYS; CALLED BEFORE THE GRAND JURY

James F. Brady, for 20 years claim agent and legislative representative for the United Railways Company, has confessed to Circuit Attorney McDaniels all that he knows of the recent theft of petitions from the Cigar Makers' Union safe, according to a statement issued to a Times reporter today by McDaniel.

Brady has likewise told the story of his 20 years' work for the street car company, McDaniels says, and has revealed a story of incidents connected with the theft which the Circuit Attorney declares "does not stop with Cameron."

Brady went before the Grand Jury at 2 p. m.

LINKS IN THE STORY

The Cameron referred to is Bruce Cameron, superintendent of transportation for the street car company, who was indicted late yesterday by the Grand Jury on a charge of second degree burglary and larceny. Cameron

last night surrendered to McDaniel and was released on $1500 bond to answer the charges at any time.

The indictment of Cameron followed the confession of Julius C. Jackson, "mystery man" of the company, and for nine years its special detective in union matters, who alleges Cameron directed the cracking of the Cigarmakers' safe, and who says Cameron sent Brady to Chicago with $500 for Jackson.

BRADY EXPLAINS ABSENCE

It developed today that Brady, whose "disappearance" was reported yesterday by McDaniel, was at McDaniel's house last night after he had read that he was wanted before the Grand Jury. It was at McDaniel's house, the latter says, that Brady confessed to his all he knew of the theft and "came clean." Brady visited McDaniel with a friend.

He explained to McDaniel that, not having been served, he did not know he was wanted, and had gone to see George Baumhoff, out of the city. Baumhoff was general manager at one time of the old St. Louis Transit Company, merged into the present company. Today Brady was at his office at the United Railways Company, and laughingly said he had never "disappeared."

TRAIL LEADS HIGHER

McDaniel today gave out what he said was all he could say of his interview last night with Brady.

"Brady said enough," said McDaniel. "I am entirely satisfied. He "came clean."

"What was it all about?" McDaniel was asked.

"I can't say fully. He simply came clean. When he told me his story I knew it was true."

"Does it involve any higher officials besides Cameron?"

"I can't say."

"Does it stop with Cameron?"

"It does not."

"What about the mysterious 'Ed' who signed the telegram to Jackson?"

MYSTERY CLEARED

"The mystery of 'Ed' is cleared," replied McDaniel.

"Did Cameron send the telegram to Jackson and sign 'Ed' to it?"

"It seems that way," concluded McDaniel.

McDaniel then said that Brady's testimony before the Grand Jury would be in the nature of a "few revelations."

McDaniel refused to go into detail as to any of the story told by Brady of his 20 years' connection with the company or as to who employed him or directed his movements in capacities of a confidential nature.

"He just came clean," was all that McDaniel would say as to the value of what Brady had told him.

Editorial from the St. Louis "Times," July 9, 1918:

SLIPPING IT SOFTLY TO CAMERON

Bruce Cameron, superintendent of transportation of the United Railways Company, was indicted shortly before 5 o'clock yesterday on charges of burglary in the second degree and larceny. The true bills were returned on testimony by Jackson, a detective for the company, that Cameron had employed him to break the safe in the office of the Cigarmakers' Union and take therefrom petitions signed by several thousand citizens asking for a vote on a franchise the Board of Aldermen had granted the company.

Cameron must be presumed to be innocent until proven guilty. The indictment implies, however, that sufficient evidence exists to convict him.

Instead of being taken into custody immediately upon the return of the indictment apparently no effort was made to apprehend him. It was necessary for him to drive to the Circuit Attorney's home, where after some

delay over locating a Judge, it was arranged that he should give bail in the sum of $1500.

Cameron is a likeable chap and perhaps would not enjoy being a fugitive, but nevertheless the failure of the proper officials to go after him as they have gone after other men indicted or even suspected of burglary and larceny, is calculated to cause jealousy of him on the part of quite a large number of burglarious gents who were less favored at the time of their indictment and are now guests of the State.

May we assume that the reason no engraved announcement of the indictment was sent to Cameron was due to the fact that the engraver's shops were closed when the jury concluded its work?

From the "Globe-Democrat," July 9, 1918:

Bruce Cameron, superintendent of transportation for the United Railways and colonel on the staff of Gov. Gardner, was yesterday indicted for second-degree burglary and larceny by the grand jury. The indictment is based on the alleged connection of Cameron with the forcible opening of a safe in which the Citizen's Referendum League had stored petitions for a vote of the people on the United Railways settlement bill, passed March 29 by the Board of Aldermen, 28 to 1.

Cameron last night drove to the home of Circuit Attorney Lawrence McDaniel, 5339 Waterman avenue, and gave himself up. No warrant had been issued for his arrest, and he was told by McDaniel that a bond of $1500 would be required and that Judge Victor H. Falkenhainer, 3523 South Jefferson avenue, was the only circuit judge of the criminal division now in the city. Accompanied by Elliott W. Major, former governor of Missouri, who is his attorney, Cameron went in search of Judge Falkenhainer to give bond, although there had been no move made to arrest him.

From the St. Louis "Star," July 24, 1918:

M'DANIEL SAYS MAJOR TRIED TO PREVENT CAMERON'S INDICTMENT

Former Governor, Attorney for U. R. Superintendent, Came to His Home to Praise Official, Circuit Attorney Says and Was Invited to Stay Away

A rumor that Superintendent Bruce Cameron of the United Railways Company, indicted on charges of burglary and larceny as the alleged director of the theft of referendum petitions, would not be prosecuted, was set at rest today by Circuit Attorney McDaniel.

The rumor was based on the fact that Cameron employed Elliott W. Major, former governor, to defend him. Significance was attached to this by the rumor spreaders, because McDaniel's wife is Mrs. Major's cousin.

McDaniel not only denied the rumor, but declared Cameron would be prosecuted "to the limit." McDaniel, because of the rumor, told a reporter for The Star that Major had intimated to him that he (Major) would like to save Cameron "unnecessary notoriety." He related how Major told him what a good fellow Cameron was and what a shame it would be for Cameron to become involved in the United Railways scandal.

McDaniel declared both Mrs. McDaniel and himself had invited the former governor to remain away from the McDaniel residence on Waterman avenue.

Major, in a statement to a reporter for The Star, and in a statement dictated later, denied he had made a plea to McDaniel for Cameron; denied he had been asked to discontinue social calls at the McDaniel home and declared Cameron was innocent and needed to ask no favors of any man.

McDaniel, in telling of the Major incident, said the former governor came to his home on the night of July

3, when he was preparing to leave for Chicago, to meet Julius C. Jackson, the "chief spotter" for the United Railways, then a fugitive from justice. It was Jackson, who only a few days later, gave evidence to the grand jury resulting in Cameron's indictment.

"There has been some gossip to the effect that I do not intend to vigorously prosecute the Cameron case," McDaniel said. "It is for that reason I am making this statement. The gossip was based on the relationship of my wife to the wife of Major.

"Well, on the night of July 3, while I was making ready to go to Chicago to meet Jackson, Major called at the house. He expressed a desire, by inference, to save Cameron from becoming involved in the United Railways scandal.

"Major told me Cameron was a fine fellow, a man of good standing and an excellent colonel on the staff of Gov. Gardner. He told me about the offer Cameron had from the Buffalo Railway Company, to go there as general manager at $12,000 a year. He said that any unnecessary publicity at this time might embarrass Cameron's chances of closing the contract for the new position.

"He also pointed out that if Cameron became involved in the referendum scandal the attending notoriety would be such that it would affect Cameron all through his life. He declared that Cameron was an innocent man. I told Major I was not in a position to discuss the affair and would rather not hear anything about Cameron.

"I resented the idea of Major calling at my home under such circumstances. Both Mrs. McDaniel and myself told him we would not talk about Cameron or the United Railways or anything relating to the case. I certainly conveyed that sentiment to Major.

"Later, after Cameron had been indicted by the grand jury, both Cameron and Major called. It was on the

night following the indictment. Major asked about bond for Cameron. I pointed out that the circuit attorney had nothing to do with the bond and suggested they call on one of the circuit judges. I did call up the homes of one or two judges for them and found Judge Falkenhainer at his home and suggested they might go there to arrange bond.

"Before Mr. Major left with Cameron I told him I would be pleased if he would discontinue social relations with my family from that time on."

OTHER RELATIVES APPROACHED

"There have been efforts to induce other relatives of Mrs. McDaniels to intercede for Cameron. Nichols M. Bell was requested to talk to Mrs. McDaniels and to me about the Cameron case. Bell refused to comply with the requests, and instead came to me and told me about it and what he had said in reply, and told me to go ahead and do my duty.

"That is what I intend to do, and the gentlemen interested might as well know it is entirely useless and waste of time for them to attempt to bring to bear any such influences."

From the St. Louis "Star," July 26, 1918:

IS JUSTICE BEING THWARTED?

Circuit Attorney McDaniel charges that a former attorney general and governor of Missouri sought by a personal appeal, under the cloak of family relationships, to prevent the indictment of Bruce Cameron for complicity in the theft of the United Railways referendum petition. This accusation is circumstantially made, but is denied by the former governor. The question of veracity between the two men may safely be left to the public for determination, but the mere fact of the accusation is one

which raises in the public mind the much broader question of how far improper influences have been or are being made to defeat the ends of justice in this most odorous scandal.

The people of St. Louis have a well defined fear that the course of justice in this matter will be obstructed. This fear is not an abstract thing, but is founded upon the knowledge that there have been many defeats of justice and many diversions of prosecution from well defined paths into faint and inconclusive trails, ending in nothing. They believe that money is potent, that influence is strong, that witnesses are corruptible and that lawyers are keen in devising ways to suppress and nullify evidence, to delay proceedings and to influence courts and officials.

They are watching this United Railways situation keenly. They do not believe that the circuit attorney has got to the bottom of the matter by a long way. They do not believe that the conviction of Bruce Cameron would put the blame at the point where most of it should rest.

Mr. McDaniel has the people with him and they will stay with him just so long as he keeps on the job with zeal and diligence. They wonder if Elliott W. Major's cousinly effort is the only one or the most powerful being made to block the course of justice. What other efforts are and by whom made they would like to know.

From the "Post-Dispatch," July 25, 1918:

UNDERGROUND U. R. INFLUENCES

Circuit Attorney McDaniel's statement about the private plea made for Bruce Cameron by former Gov. Major, a kinsman and former employer of Mrs. McDaniel, who was employed as attorney for Cameron, is interesting and significant. It shows the length to which the United Rail-

ways management and its attorneys will go to smother investigation and prosecution in the referendum theft case.

The outcome of this effort to influence Mr. McDaniel to protect the United Railways, through family relationships, reflects credit on the Circuit Attorney and his wife. The advice of Nicholas M. Bell, who declined to use similar influence, to go ahead and do his duty, was honorable and sound.

These underground schemes and influences to suppress exposure and prosecution of crimes is a warning to Mr. McDaniel of the pitfalls that lie in the path of public officials who attack corruption and crime in high places and whose duty leads them to antagonize powerful interests.

It is evident that Mr. McDaniel recognizes the path of honor and duty. It is the road that leads to public service and the highest compensation a man in public life can gain.

From the St. Louis "Star," February 10, 1919:

J. D. MORTIMER SUBPENAED IN U. R. THEFT

Head of North American Company Ordered Before Grand Jury in Inquiry Into Stealing of Referendum Petitions

Search for Official Started Last Summer

James D. Mortimer of New York, president of the North American Company, and a former director of the United Railways Company, Saturday was served with a subpena to appear before the grand jury at 2 p. m. tomorrow. Mortimer will be questioned by Circuit Attorney McDaniel regarding the theft of the United Railways franchise referendum petitions last summer.

Responsibility for the burglary and theft of the petitions was placed on the United Railways by Julius Caesar Jackson, a "secret agent" of the company, who admitted he engineered the plot. Bruce Cameron, superintendent of transportation of the United Railways, was indicted

on a charge of second degree burglary for alleged participation in the theft.

As the North American Company is regarded as the real owner of the United Railways, McDaniel believes Mortimer, as president of the organization, may be able to throw some light on the robbery. McDaniel has been trying to get Mortimer before the grand jury since last spring.

"I do not know what information, if any, Mortimer may give us," McDaniel told a reporter for The Star, "but I intend to question him on every phase of the referendum petitions' theft and the affairs that grew out of it."

From the St. Louis "Star," September 18, 1918:

$15,660 PAID TO JACKSON BY U. R. IN 30 MONTHS

Audit Just Made Public Shows Confessed Engineer of Referendum Petition Theft Plot Got $13,014 for Expenses

DOCUMENTS PRESENTED TO GRAND JURY YESTERDAY

Bruce Cameron, Superintendent of Transportation for Company, Was Indicted as Result of Investigation

An audit of the books of the United Railways Company, ordered last July by Circuit Attorney McDaniel for the purpose of ascertaining payments made by the company to Julius C. Jackson, a "secret agent," and confessed engineer of the referendum petitions' theft plot, made public today by McDaniel, shows that Jackson, in a period of two and a half years, received from the company $15,660.65. Of this amount, the books show $2,646 was for "time," or salary, and $13,014.65 for expenses.

The audit was completed six weeks ago, but was not given to the grand jury for consideration until late yesterday.

McDaniel ordered examination of the books of the United Railways in connection with the investigation of the theft of referendum petitions circulated by the Citizen's Referendum League. Jackson, arrested in connection with the plot, admitted he engineered the burglary and said he was ordered to get the petitions by Bruce Cameron, superintendent of transportation and alleged director of the activities of the "secret agents." Cameron was indicted on a charge of burglary and larceny.

At the time the audit was ordered, McDaniel, in a statement, said Jackson was receiving $15,000 a year from the company.

FAILS TO ACCOUNT FOR $500

This statement is not corroborated by the audit, as was exclusively told in The Star a month ago. The audit also fails to account for $500 alleged to have been handed to Jackson in Chicago by James Brady, a U. R. claim agent, at the time Jackson was a fugitive from justice.

McDaniel would not comment on the result of the examination.

The audit shows that on May 18, a month before the robbery, Jackson was paid $548.10 and that he was paid $545.25 on June 4. It also shows that on February 18, at a time the company was having strike troubles, Jackson was paid $851.10.

The "inspector's" payroll, exclusive of Jackson's accounts, for the two weeks ending June 4, was $1,676.22, and for the next two weeks dropped to $478. That was for the two weeks ending June 18, at which time Jackson, although a fugitive, was still in the employment of the company. For the two weeks ending July 3, the "inspector's" payroll was $739.84.

The two-and-one-half year period in which Jackson was paid a total of $15,660.65 was between January 1, 1916, and June 4, 1918. In that time he drew, in all, 58 pay envelopes.

Editorial from the "Republic," July 10, 1918:

"THE PUBLIC BE DAMNED"

The Board of Directors of the United Railways apparently thinks it's none of the public's damned business if the corporation chooses to use the people's pennies to hire burglars to steal referendum petitions. It seemingly believes that the people from whom the car company derives its right to exist, the people whom it has mulcted with rotten service and worse financing for a score of years, have no business to inquire into the affairs of the United Railways, even if the path of felony leads to its doors.

Yesterday the directors met. The public expected that as a result of the session, a ringing statement would be issued to the people denouncing the theft of the petitions and offering to assist the officials of justice in St. Louis to punish the perpetrators of the crime.

The public expected that there would be some explanation forthcoming as to why $15,000 to $20,000 a year was paid to Special Agent Jackson.

The public expected to learn how $2,600 could be paid from the company funds for robbing a safe without any of the officials of the company knowing anything about it.

The public expected to learn if the same organization which permitted the employment of Jackson for subterranean purposes, including burglary and larceny, was to be continued at Thirty-ninth and Park to flout defiance in the face of the patient and long-suffering public.

These are some of the things the people expected to be enlightened upon. Instead of that the directors issued a statement to the effect that Bruce Cameron, the superintendent of traffic, who is under indictment for burglary and larceny, had offered his resignation, but that the directors had refused to accept it until "the determination of his innocence in the courts." That's all.

The public hoped for a frank statement. It got a fling of contempt for its wishes.

As The Republic remarked a few days ago, "the public-be-damned policy" died among enlightened corporation heads many years ago. There is a vote coming on the referendum in November despite the best efforts of the burglars, and the people will have in their hands a weapon with which to reply to the benighted directors of the United Railways Company.

Editorial from the "Post-Dispatch," July 9, 1918:

WHO VOUCHED FOR CAMERON?

The indictment of Bruce Cameron, superintendent of transportation, for burglary completely links the United Railways management with the theft of referendum petitions, but is he the man highest up?

Circuit Attorney McDaniel says he has no evidence pointing to any man higher up.

What had the superintendent of transportation to do with the money transactions and accounts of the company? Is he treasurer, auditor and general manager, as well as superintendent of transportation? Was he authorized to pay Jackson $20,000 a year for "special" work without detail accounts of the expenditure of the money and approved vouchers? Who approved the vouchers and vised the accounts?

How could $2600 be paid for the burglary of a safe and the theft of petitions without any accounting for the use of the money?

Were the accounts falsified? Was he given a large sum of money to be expended as he saw fit, without accounting to the company for its expenditure? Do honestly managed corporations turn over large sums to a head of department without requiring a rigid accounting for their expenditure?

In the old days of rampant bribery and boodle directors and high officers of utility corporations set aside corruption funds, and when their use for bribery was exposed

held up their hands in righteous indignation and declared they did not know to what uses these funds were put. But it deceived no one. A contingent fund for which no accounting is required is a corruption fund.

Did Cameron have authority to use Jackson as he pleased, without reporting his activities? Did he have authority to hire thugs and burglars and thieves to commit crimes in the interest of the company? Who gave him this authority? Did he consult with none of his associates concerning his plans and the work of his "special agents"—his criminal agents?

We welcome Mr. McDaniel's remark that the investigation is not ended, but just begun. Mr. McDaniel has a great opportunity as a fearless and conscientious prosecutor. He has in his hands the investigation of a crime unique in the annals of public utility crimes and corruptions. By uncovering all the details of the crime, exposing and prosecuting its authors, he can make an example of the perpetrators of this outrage on the people's rights which will not be forgotten. He can go far towards safeguarding the public from similar crimes in the future.

Editorial from the "Republic," July 6, 1918:

SWIFT JUSTICE NEEDED

The trail of the burglars who drilled the safe in the office of the Cigarmakers' Union and stole the petitions which were to be filed for the purpose of calling a referendum on the United Railways franchise now leads inside the door of the offices of the company.

So far as the public is informed, the person or persons finally responsible for the offense are not known, but the return to St. Louis and the confession of Julius C. Jackson, special agent for the company, makes that much clear.

Saying that the authorities must run down the men who stood behind Jackson and gave him the $2,600 with which

the job was financed may seem rather futile business, but St. Louis knows from no very ancient experience that the men higher up in street railway crime are not always overtaken by justice. Some witnesses sell out and all of them are mortal. Swift justice is the kind that most certainly reaches the criminal who has money of his own or rich friends to protect him.

Editorial from the "Post-Dispatch," July 6, 1918:

GET THE HIGHEST UP

The confession of Julius C. Jackson with the arrest and admissions of Edward Corley, chief clerk in the office of Bruce Cameron, superintendent of transportation, brings the responsibility for the theft of referendum petitions to the door of the United Railways.

Judgment as to personal responsibility must be withheld until all the facts are known.

The important thing is that Jackson, who directed the crime in the interest of his employers, the United Railways, and Corley who supplies another link in the chain of evidence are in custody and are willing to testify.

The investigation must be pressed to the end, until every man who is implicated in this criminal assault upon popular rights is brought to justice. Circuit Attorney McDaniel has done well in pushing this investigation of the crime and in bringing in Jackson to serve as a state witness. The work so far has been successfully accomplished. We rely upon him to push the inquiry and the prosecution of those responsible for the crime to its conclusion. The only satisfactory conclusion is the adequate punishment of the man or men who conceived the crime and ordered it executed. The man to get is the man highest up in the criminal conspiracy.

The United Railways Co. is now said to have paid $2600 for the theft of the referendum petitions. Just how many of the extra pennies, which have been tacked on to the five-

cent fares, it takes to pay this little bill you may figure out for yourself.

From the "St. Louis Labor," February 8, 1919:

CITY HALL CORRUPTION AND U. R. BURGLARISM MUST GO

DICTATORSHIP OF MAYOR KIEL AND CORPORATION SERVILITY OF BOARD OF ALDERMEN CANNOT BE TOLERATED ANY LONGER—RECALL THE CULPRITS!

The Board of Aldermen approved Mayor Kiel's secret United Railways Co. steal. What else could be expected? Was it not the same Board of Aldermen that passed the original 30-year franchise ordinance which was signed by Mayor Kiel? There is not only a solidarity and community of interests between the Aldermen and the Mayor, but between the Aldermanic Board, the Mayor's office, the United Railways Co. and the referendum petition burglars.

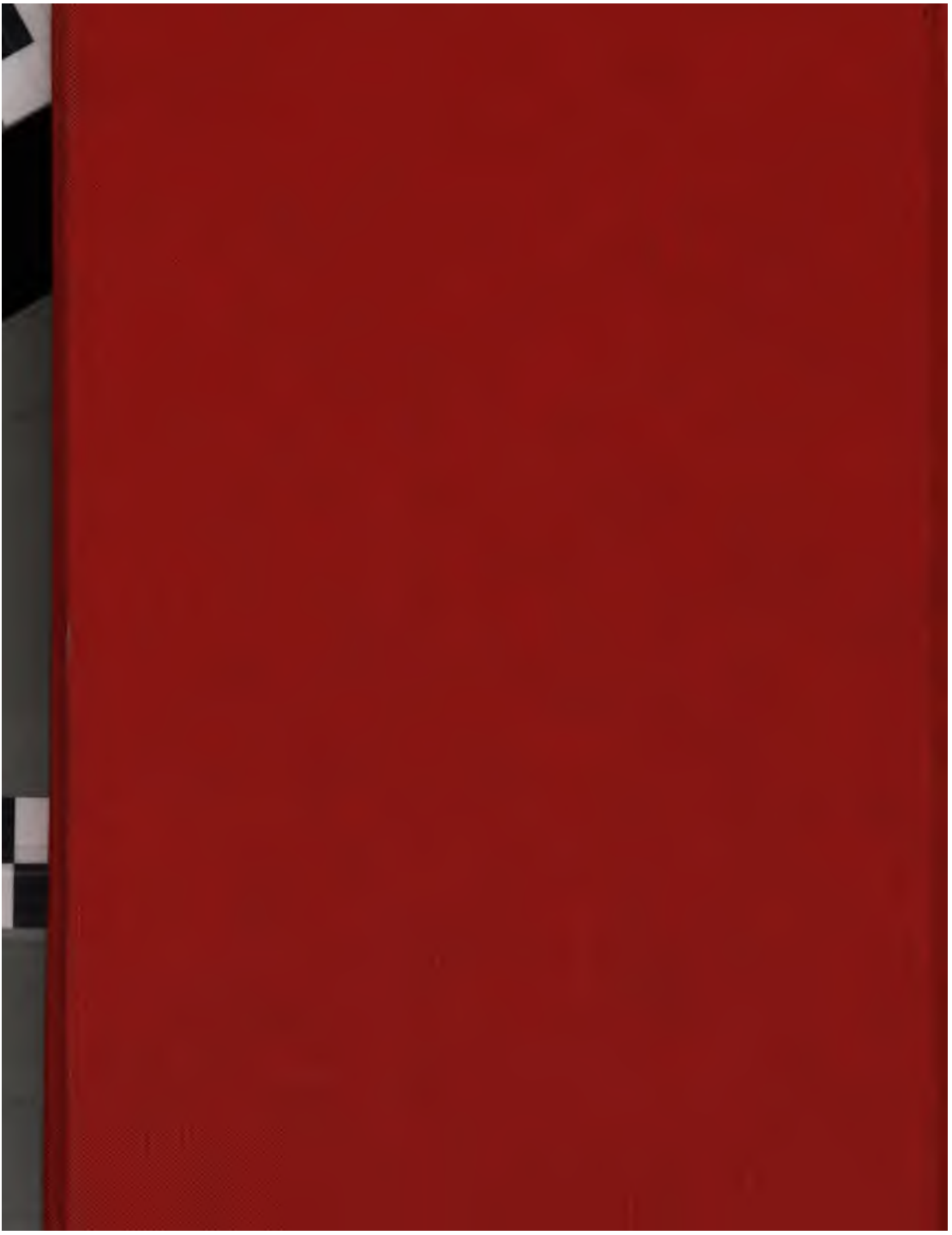
When the United Railways Company's officials and superintendent hired the thieves and burglars to steal the petition documents of the Citizen's Referendum League from the vault of the Cigar Makers' Union 44 the political hirelings of the Board of Aldermen and the corporation puppet in the Mayor's chair were as vitally interested in the success of the burglary as the street railway octopus.

The object of the burglary was to prevent the referendum vote on the Compromise Franchise Ordinance, which was prepared by the United Railways Co.'s lawyers, passed by the Aldermen and signed by the Mayor. A new question is now in order:

Was the Jackson referendum petition burglary not suggested or instigated by the same corrupt City Hall crowd that enacted the Compromise Franchise Ordinance?

After the burglars got caught and the object of the burglary was frustrated Mayor Kiel had to make good by his secret deal with the United Railways Co. Here is what the Post-Dispatch says:

> **"From its inception the United Railways has been a center of corruption. It corrupted the city legislature and the State Legislature. It was born in corruption. The Central Traction franchise was bought from the Municipal Assembly. The act which enabled it to consolidate all the street railways was bought from the General Assembly of the State. Its franchise, bought with a boodle fund of $250,000, was sold for $1,250,000. In consolidating the street railways their stocks and bonds were doubled. Every step of the company has been marked by financial juggling and political corruption. On property worth about $40,000,000 it has piled up $100,000,000 of stocks and bonds. It has been milked by interlocking directorates. In order to reap the fruits of corruption and plunder it has attempted to control the politics and the government of St. Louis."**

The movement for the recall of Mayor Kiel is growing. The Citizen's Referendum League is gaining ground every day, every hour. We have neither time nor space to give a detailed report of its activity. This is not the time for empty noise-making, but for hard work. Thirty-five thousand bona fide signatures of voters to the recall petitions must be secured. We are facing this stupendous work without the least delusion or self-deception. And this is the strength and vigor of the recall movement!

City Hall corruption and United Railways burglarism must go! Not only must Mayor Kiel be recalled, but that Augean stable of our Board of Aldermen must be cleaned out.